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Socialists demand massive U.S. aid to Nicaragua

Launch 1980 presidential campaign

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON, August 22—At a news conference here today announcing the Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential campaign, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidates for president and vice-president denounced the threat of U.S. military intervention against the Nicaraguan revolution.

"In overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship, the people of Nicaragua achieved a heroic victory," Pulley said, "one that has inspired the exploited and oppressed masses the world over."

"We think that the Sandinista government that is trying to get Nicaragua on its feet is doing a good job of it," Zimmermann added. "It has the confidence of the masses of the Nicaraguan people. They see this government as leading the way toward the goals that they have fought for: a decent standard of living, education—Nicaragua has one of the highest illiteracy rates in Central America—decent health care."

"The main problem the Sandinista government has is the refusal of American imperialism to come across with its promises of aid."

Pulley branded the United States government as responsible for the

More coverage inside on launching of socialist campaign. See pages 6-7.

40,000 deaths and widespread destruction and hunger that resulted from the fight to oust Somoza. "The arms with which the Somoza forces fought the Nicaraguan people came from the United States government," Pulley said. "Without U.S. military arms, there would have been no Somoza."

Pulley noted the threat of U.S. military intervention against the revolution. "Any time there's a popular revolution," Pulley said, "where people have sought to get control of their own affairs, the rulers of this country have always found it in their interests to oppose it. They tried in Nicaragua.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president in 1980.

They failed. But they're not giving up.

"We call upon American working people to stand ready to oppose any military intervention either by the United States government or its client states," said Pulley.

"Carter should send food and medicine, not marines, to Nicaragua."

On the domestic scene, Pulley noted, "American working people are being squeezed on all sides. Our living standard has deteriorated. The cost of everything from gasoline to food is reaching the sky."

In a statement released to the press, Pulley and Zimmermann called for immediately nationalizing the energy industry. "Place the production and distribution of energy under public ownership," the socialist candidates demanded. "Every aspect of the industry should be open to public scrutiny. All books and records should be open and easily available for inspection. That is the only way to end the se-

crecy, chaos, shortages, and rip-offs that working people are victims of every day of our lives."

The statement noted that "working people are angry and are looking for radical solutions. One sign of this was the recent decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to favor nationalization of the oil companies."

But, they asked, "How can such progressive and necessary changes be brought about? How can we challenge the control that oil barons and other capitalists now have over government?"

The answer, the socialists said, is for the union movement to launch an independent labor party in opposition to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Asked by a reporter how such a party could come into being, Zimmermann responded, "We think that a powerful union like the United Auto Workers could announce a candidate

for mayor of a city, or for Congress. The United Mine Workers could announce a candidate for Congress in the next election in West Virginia. Such a candidate would get tremendous support and would inspire similar campaigns around the country."

"We also think," Zimmermann went on, "that a labor party is important not just for dealing with the economic problems that workers face, but for the big social problems as well."

In particular, Zimmermann noted the refusal of the Democrats and Republicans to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

Also speaking at the news conference was Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, who pledged the YSA's support for the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign.

Sedwick, who recently returned from a trip to Cuba, cited that country as an

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New U.S. propaganda drive against Nicaragua

The following statement was released by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on August 21.

The imperialist enemies of the revolution in Nicaragua have opened a concerted international campaign to pressure the Sandinista leaders, to isolate the revolution from its supporters and potential supporters, and to divide and confuse the forces organized in solidarity with the revolution.

Three articles that recently appeared in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, and were picked up by papers across the country, convey the line the State Department and top circles of the ruling rich are promoting. Articles with the identical line have appeared in major capitalist dailies in Europe and in Latin America.

The three items are: an editorial in the August 15 *Times* entitled "Crosswinds in Nicaragua"; an August 20 piece by *Times* special correspondent Richard J. Meislin in Managua, titled "Adversity forges unity among rebel Nicaraguan leaders"; and an August 21 *Post* article by Marlise Simons, also in Managua, titled "Nicaragua expels Trotskyist group in crackdown."

Contrary to previous reports by *Times* correspondents, Meislin writes: "In Managua, the perception that the Sandinist military leadership, and not the five highest members of the civilian junta, was running the country, which was prevalent in diplomatic circles and among some junta members themselves only two weeks ago, has virtually disappeared."

Simons' article begins, "Despite the revolutionary euphoria of the past months, the first signs of organized opposition to Nicaragua's new government are coming from the extreme left and not, as widely anticipated, from conservative businessmen."

"At the same time, the government's first act of political impatience has been to expel some sixty Latin American Trotskyists who were charged with being 'counter-revolutionaries' and 'creating problems for the Sandinista revolution.'"

"Although the government is anxious not to disappoint popular expectations of change, it seemed determined to resist extremist pressure for sudden, radical measures that could frighten both the domestic and foreign private sectors and retard economic reconstruction."

That this is the line the State Department wants the "responsible" capitalist press to take is underlined by Simons: "Some U.S. diplomats here agree that several reports in the U.S. media have been 'irresponsible,' or 'distorting the truth.' This applies,

they say, to clichés about 'the new Cuba' and 'rising anti-Americanism.'"

This is certainly not objective news reporting on the contradictions in the Nicaraguan revolution. By asserting that the "civilian junta," which includes bourgeois figures, is in command as against the Sandinistas, by asserting that "conservative businessmen" are the mainstay of the revolution and left "extremists" are the enemy of it, these mouthpieces for the State Department are giving clear warning to the Sandinista fighters: *this is the way it has got to be*—the revolution is a *bourgeois* revolution and must stay within *bourgeois* limits.

In warning of the "extremist" danger to the revolution both Simons and Meislin are very precise. They point to any measures that "could frighten both the domestic and foreign private sectors." As an example, Meislin singles out the proposal that workers be paid back pay "for the two months the country was at war. It is money the government has promised the workers but that few of the hard-pressed employers have been able to pay."

Simons and Meislin utilize the activities of the "Simón Bolívar Brigade" in Nicaragua (the "Trotskyists" Simons refers to) as a convenient target. But their warning is directed squarely against the Sandinistas. Their message is that any measures the new leadership has to take against either the native or foreign capitalists to advance the interests of the Nicaraguan masses will be considered "extremism" by Washington.

These are not idle threats. Washington is backing them up by making desperately needed aid contingent upon acceptance of political concessions. If these concessions prove insufficient they are holding in reserve the threat of military intervention, possibly through the Somocista National Guard units that withdrew to El Salvador and Honduras.

The fact is Washington has reneged on its promises to send the necessary aid. For decades it armed and backed the Somoza dictatorship. Now that the Nicaraguan people face a desperate situation caused by the massive destruction inflicted on them by that dictatorship, Washington cruelly withholds aid to blackmail the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan masses.

Simons drives the knife home: "In recent days, leaders of the Sandinista command and junta members have said privately they fear they may be caught in a vicious circle: they require fast massive foreign assistance to ensure that moderation prevails, yet Western governments appear to be withholding funds until they can be sure that they are

not financing 'a new Cuba.'"

The *Times* editorially advises Congress not to get in the way of this blackmail plan by placing any restrictions on the State Department's maneuvers:

"No one can say that Nicaragua will not go the Cuban route but it is significant that the junta is pressing for American economic help. The legislation needed to expand American aid programs must pass a Congress in which diehard Somoza supporters command key [congressional] committees. Doubtless they will fight every outburst about 'Yankee Imperialism' as proof that Nicaragua is undeserving, in turn confirming the leftist view that America is an implacable antagonist. It will be a test of American maturity to keep extremists on all sides from fulfilling their own dire prophecies."

In her article, Simons utilizes the Simón Bolívar Brigade to launch an attack on Trotskyism (see article page 4). This attack is designed to further one of Washington's key objectives: to divide and thus weaken the international solidarity movement with the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade was organized by the Colombian PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party), under the direction of an international grouping known as the "Bolshevik Faction," led by Nahuel Moreno.

The Bolshevik Faction, most of whose members belong to sections or sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, claims adherence to the Fourth International. However, it has its own international structure, finances, and discipline. It sets its own policies without regard for the policies decided by the elected leadership bodies of the Fourth International.

In the case of the Simón Bolívar Brigade, the Bolshevik Faction never consulted the Fourth International about this project or about the policies the Brigade followed. These policies ran counter to the policies decided by the leadership bodies of the Fourth International.

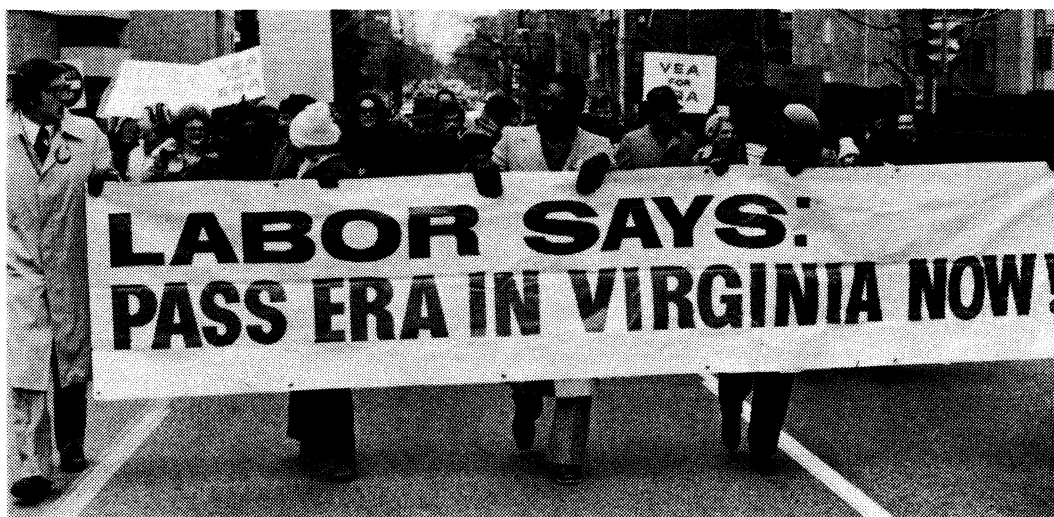
Through the Simón Bolívar Brigade the Bolshevik Faction led young militants from several Latin American countries—people who wanted to help the fight against Somoza—into a sectarian adventure. Masquerading as a section of the Sandinista front (FSLN), the Simón Bolívar Brigade entered Nicaragua from outside to engage in its own organizing efforts along the lines of "outflanking" the Sandinistas on the left. Their tactic was to up the ante in what the Sandinistas were saying, trying in this way to build a counterforce to them.

This grotesque idea—that people from the outside

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Militant/Greta Hill

New step for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment

Unionists and women's rights activists met August 12 in a powerful show of unity to demand passage of the ERA. They are calling for an education and action campaign leading toward a January 20 march for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia like the one shown above from 1978. **Page 12.**

The Militant

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Nicaraguans vow to rebuild their devastated country

By Mirta Vidal

LEÓN, Nicaragua, August 19—Today, people throughout Nicaragua celebrated the thirtieth day since the fall of the hated Somoza dictatorship.

Here in León, the second largest city, peasants, workers, and students poured out in spite of the rain for a rally in the city's main plaza.

Chants like, "Long live free Nicaragua," "A free country or death," and "Long live the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front]" punctuated the speeches.

Periodically, the audience would be asked from the platform, "Are we tired?" "No!" they would roar in reply. "Are we united?"

"Yes!" the roar growing even louder, illustrating a sense of optimism and confidence that prevails today in Nicaragua.

While preparations for the celebration were under way, I walked around what is now the skeleton of a once thriving city.

"León has a tradition of combativity," a stationary store owner told me.

"The entire population was mobilized against Somoza's National Guard," explained a taxi driver. "We pushed them into a corner, and when they saw no way out, they began the bombing raids."

The bombings destroyed the center of the city, killing thousands of innocent victims.

On a side street in a section of the city where most buildings are still standing, fifteen-year-old youth in green uniforms, rifles in hand, guard the central supply depot, housed in what was once the light and power building.

Inside, in a small patio, Vladimir Cordero, a young man in charge of the FSLN supplies commission made time to discuss with me the problems they face.

Cordero emphasized the inadequacy of the international aid they have received so far.

Given the shortage of goods, priority is being given to the rural areas, hospitals, and the troops. The peasants, organized into the Agricultural Production Units, are working in exchange for food alone.

The rest of the civilian population is thus in great need of supplies.

The basic foodstuffs urgently needed include rice, beans, wheat, flour, sugar, soap, and oil.

But while the Nicaraguan people have inherited devastated cities, and a shattered economy, spirits are high. There is a universal understanding that the destiny of the country is now in the hands of the masses.

This was the theme of the speeches at the rally in León, including in the signs and slogans.

One placard a young boy displayed summed up the mood. It read: "The insurrection is over, but the revolution has just begun."

Canadian labor sends aid to Nicaragua

MONTREAL, Canada—Operation Solidarity, Canadian labor's response to the needs of the Nicaraguan people, is under way.

A plane left Toronto August 11 for Nicaragua loaded with 75,000 pounds of food and other desperately needed supplies.

Organized by the Canadian Labor Congress, the Canadian counterpart of the AFL-CIO, Operation Solidarity is being financed by local union donations.

John Simonds, a Labor Congress spokesperson, said the unions have raised \$250,000 in the past month.

He also said that unions in the food and garment industries have negotiated agreements with various companies so that they will be able to send food and clothing worth \$500,000.

Included in the initial shipment was 6,000 pounds of clothing collected through public appeals by unions in the city of Ottawa.

Operation Solidarity got under way after the CLC sent a fact-finding delegation to Nicaragua following the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship.

Simonds said the initial shipment also included \$60,000 worth of medicines, including vaccines against polio, tuberculosis, tetanus, measles, and other diseases, along with necessary refrigeration equipment.

Here in Québec, the Confederation of National Trade Unions has par-



Militant/Fred Murphy

Bombed-out area of San Antonio sugar mill, Nicaragua's biggest refinery. Saturation bombing by U.S.-installed dictator left country in ruins.

ticipated in solidarity actions with Nicaragua. In July, just before the fall of Somoza, the union body joined in a demonstration of a thousand people. And at a Québec City gathering of the union, the agenda included greetings from a representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. He received a standing ovation.

In Winnipeg, Manitoba, the defeat of Somoza was celebrated at a meet-

ing whose keynote speaker was Neils Thibeau, representing the Manitoba Federation of Labor and the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party.

In Vancouver, the NDP is participating in a medical aid committee for Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, socialists and other union activists have begun the process of deepening local union involvement in Operation Solidarity.

Women have played a prominent role in the revolutionary process. One keynote speaker at the León celebration, a middle-aged peasant woman, urged women to take their place in the process by joining the neighborhood committees—the Sandinista Defense Committees—and to take part in the political discussions in order to learn.

"And let us not differentiate between those who are coordinators and representatives, and the rest. Let us all be united," she appealed.

In León the Sandinista Defense Committees are organized on a block-by-block basis, including every person on the block. Representatives are then elected to a central committee which meets with the local governing junta to discuss the neighborhood's problems and present their demands.

The five members of the local junta were elected at a mass rally several weeks ago, with the approval of the FSLN.

A junta spokesperson at the rally picked up on the central theme: "The revolution has not ended," he said.

"All we have done so far is throw out Somozaism and the National Guard. The revolution is only beginning."

He explained that hundreds of volunteers are needed now to pave the streets of León. He pointed out that when the junta took office the city had inherited a debt of 3 million cordobas [\$300,000] and that workers had not been paid back wages for two months.

When they opened the books, they discovered that 38,000 cordobas were "phantom salaries which paid for people to persecute all of you."

After several revolutionary songs performed by local groups, the rally heard two FSLN representatives.

The first addressed himself to the role of U.S. imperialism in maintaining the Somoza dictatorship for forty-five years. Like the other speakers, he emphasized that it was the combativity of the masses that overthrew the dictatorship.

"This revolution is a revolution of all the Nicaraguan people," he said. "But it is not for those who are opposed to the revolutionary process."

Clearly referring to Washington, he warned, "Those who think they can organize a counterrevolution may know how it will begin, but they do not know how it will end."

The final speaker was a young woman of the FSLN known by the name Commandante Dos [Commander Two].

Commandante Dos explained that the revolution is a process of economic, political and social transformation. "Our people," she explained, "can choose their own representatives, can say whether or not they agree with what we are doing."

Commandante Dos stressed the need to understand the tasks facing a nation which has been left in ruins. She said the people need to "organize ourselves. We need everyone's participation in this process."

She urged everyone to join the Sandinista Trade Union Federation and the Sandinista Defense Committees.

"This revolution, she declared, "has to be an active revolution."

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The facts about the Simon Bolivar Brigade

The following was compiled by the 'Militant' from eyewitness reports of leaders of the Fourth International who were in Nicaragua when the events described took place.

In recent days the bourgeois media around the world have been carrying stories about left-wing groups that have challenged the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua.

Much publicity has centered on the "Simón Bolívar Brigade," which has been referred to as Trotskyist.

What is involved?

The Sandinista leadership is confronted by very grave problems.

The country was devastated by Somoza's desperate and ruthless attempts to hold power. Sections of the cities and towns were left in rubble. Agriculture, transport, communication, and manufacturing were severely disrupted. More than a million people are in need of food. At the same time, the threat of imperialist-sponsored armed intervention remains ever-present.

Under these conditions, the Sandinista leadership faces a difficult and complex leadership job in carrying the revolution forward. It must seek food and financial aid from all possible sources, including the imperialists. It must make inroads into the bourgeois order, without giving the imperialists easy pretexts to whip up propaganda in favor of intervention.

The FSLN leadership has proclaimed a policy that would guarantee workers back pay and a raise in wages. It has declared the nationalization of the huge Somocista landholdings for distribution to the landless. It has sought to integrate all independently-armed groups into a disciplined and effective army and militia.

Several left groups operating in Nicaragua, in particular the Maoists and the Simón Bolívar Brigade, have challenged the FSLN in these areas, trying to outflank it from the left.

They have utilized objective problems—the gap between the great hopes for immediate improvements and the difficulties in achieving all these goals quickly—to encourage conflicts by sectors of the masses against the FSLN leadership.

The Simón Bolívar Brigade, an armed unit composed of non-Nicaraguans, entered Nicaragua only recently.

The Brigade carried out its activities—recruitment, propaganda, and agitation in the neighborhoods and unions—in the name of the FSLN, although it was not acting under the direction of the FSLN. The working people who supported the Brigade's activities were thus left with the false impression that they were following the FSLN.

This attempt by a grouping from outside the country to substitute itself for the real leadership that was forged in the revolutionary struggle against

Somoza has absolutely nothing in common with the position of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

The FSLN leadership met on several occasions with the leadership of the Brigade, to try to obtain the agreement of the Brigade to coordinate its activities with those of the FSLN, and to place all armed units under a single FSLN command.

The FSLN then issued a public summons—over radio, television, and in the press—for all Brigade members to meet on August 14 at the FSLN offices (Somoza's former "bunker"). The Brigade leadership took the occasion to convene a public demonstration at the headquarters of about 1,000 persons, who were brought out by the promise—totally false—that they would be discussing trade union and salary problems with the FSLN leadership.

After this provocative clash, non-Nicaraguan members of the Brigade were ordered out of the country. Some were expelled. Others are still being sought by FSLN authorities.

The leaders of the Brigade have acted irresponsibly in other ways. The Brigade was organized in Colombia by the Colombian PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party). The PST has labeled everyone who disagreed with their project as "traitors" to the Nicaraguan revolution. For example, the July 27 issue of

El Socialista, organ of the PST, singles out Jaime Galarza, Ricardo Sanchez, and Ciro Roldan, calling them *gusanos* (counter-revolutionary worms).

The three are leaders of the Colombian PSR (Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist Party, like the PST a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The PSR is active in the Nicaraguan solidarity movement in Colombia. The PST attack only serves to divide that movement.

Because the Brigade was organized by the Colombian PST, the capitalist media have tried to use these developments to try to discredit Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

In fact, however, the leaders of the Brigade have carried out their activities on their own account, without regard to the policy of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The line of the Brigade in Nicaragua has been contrary to the position adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The Fourth International is in no way responsible for the activities of the Brigade.

The line of the Fourth International was spelled out in a statement issued on August 15. That statement called for building "the broadest possible international movement—united and nonexclusionary—in support of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and the fighters of the FSLN whose courage has become the most precious heritage of the world proletariat."

...statement by Socialist Workers Party

Continued from page 2

can maneuver to capture the leadership of the revolution from those who have emerged in the course of the struggle—has nothing whatever to do with Trotskyism, revolutionary socialism.

The unfortunate episode of the Simón Bolívar Brigade was just what the Carter administration was waiting for. This is why the *Washington Post*, which is not noted for featuring news about Trotskyism, splashed Simons's article on the front page.

The incident gave Simons the opportunity to smear all proponents of the socialist road in Nicaragua, as we have noted. It serves two other functions as well.

The first is to falsely portray the Sandinistas as bourgeois liberals, or at least in the tow of bourgeois liberals. This is sucker bait for inexperienced revolutionists. The purpose is to sow confusion among working class forces around the world, who would be less inclined, if this were true, to wage a campaign in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

These articles give the impression that a solidarity campaign among the toiling masses outside Nicaragua is not necessary, that the imperialists will provide the necessary aid, and that there is no real imperialist threat. At the same time they try to create this impression, the imperialists keep the economic squeeze on the Nicaraguan people.

The second function is to seek to divide the solidarity movement. By smearing Trotskyism, they hope to make it more difficult for Trotskyists around the world to help organize the solidarity campaign which the Fourth International has called for.

In this country, the obvious aim is to try to isolate the Socialist Workers Party, which, as the government is well aware, just held a national convention which launched a campaign to help build a broad solidarity movement with other forces. This movement will be demanding, among other things, that Washington immediately send massive aid to Nicaragua.

The ruling class's objective is furthered by Simons's unfounded assertion that there are "some Americans" in the Simón Bolívar Brigade. In fact there was not a single U.S. Trotskyist in the group.

The deadly objective of the imperialist bourgeoisie is clear: to bring massive economic pressure to bear against Nicaragua, while at the same time to lull, confuse, and divide the Nicaraguan solidarity

movement. Should this be insufficient to block further advances of the Nicaraguan revolution, the imperialists hope these tactics will isolate the revolution from the toilers of the world. This would open the way to military attacks against the revolution.

Against the machinations of the imperialists, the Socialist Workers Party calls on working people and all others who are for fair play for Nicaragua to unite in a broad and nonexclusionary movement in support of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and their leaders in the FSLN.

Immediate aid to Nicaragua with no strings attached!

Imperialist hands off!

Solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution!

Miami picket to defend Nicaragua

MIAMI—A Nicaragua solidarity demonstration will be held here Saturday, September 1, at 1 p.m. at the Federal Building in downtown Miami.

Following a picket there, a march will be held to a nearby bank or to one of Somoza's business operations in Miami.

The action will be in support of efforts by Nicaragua's revolutionary leadership to recover national assets plundered by the ex-dictator. Legal action has been initiated by the new Nicaraguan government to freeze and then recover Somoza's significant business interests here.

The demonstration will also demand that the U.S. government deliver the material aid it has promised to the Nicaraguan people. It will also press the demand: Hands off Nicaragua.

The action is sponsored by the Committee for Non-Intervention in Nicaragua. Various groups and individuals are participating in the activities of the coalition. Among these are the American Civil Liberties Union of Miami; the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young Cubans in the U.S.; the Socialist Workers Party; Nicaraguan residents; and Haitian groups.

Forums on Nicaragua

COLORADO DENVER

NICARAGUA: HOW YOU CAN HELP SUPPORT THE REVOLUTION. Speaker: Sylvia Zapata, Socialist Workers Party, United Transportation Union member. Fri., August 24, 8 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA MIAMI

NIGHT OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE: DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL AND IMMEDIATE AID TO NICARAGUA! FREEZE SOMOZA'S HOLDINGS AND RETURN THEM TO NICARAGUAN PEOPLE! EXTRADITE SOMOZA! Speakers: Franklin Chavez, Nicaraguan Consul in Miami; Prof. Mark Rosenberg, Dir. of Caribbean and Latin American Studies Council, Florida International Univ.; and representative of the Haiti Kobot Libete. Also film: "Patria Libre o Morir". Sat., August 25, 7 p.m., reception; 9 p.m., film. Center for Dialogue, 2675 NW 22nd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Miami Committee for Non-Intervention in Nicaragua. For more information call (305) 635-4085.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE UNFOLDING NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: ITS MEANING FOR AMERICAN WORKERS. Speaker: Malik Miah, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., August 25, 7:30 p.m. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information on location call (312) 939-0737.

NEW MEXICO ALBUQUERQUE

DEFEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Eileen Berlow, Socialist Workers candidate for city council. Fri., August 31, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK NEW YORK

THE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA. Speaker: Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Also, a film on Nicaragua. Sun., Sept. 9, 3 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th St. at 6th

Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO TOLEDO

THE UNFOLDING NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION: ITS MEANING FOR AMERICAN WORKERS. Speaker: Peter Archer, member United Auto Workers Local 14. Sun., August 26, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

TEXAS DALLAS

DEFEND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION! U.S. HANDS OFF! Speaker: representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., August 25, 8:00 p.m. 5442 East Grand. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

HOUSTON

THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Romeo Lopez, Nicaraguan consul in Houston; José Alvarado, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 7, 8 p.m. 806 Elgin St. #1. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 524-8761.

Struggles sparked throughout Central America

By Fernando Torres

The effects of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua are already being felt elsewhere in Central America. Inspired by the Nicaraguan revolution, fresh popular mobilizations are shaking the region's military dictatorships, especially in Guatemala and El Salvador.

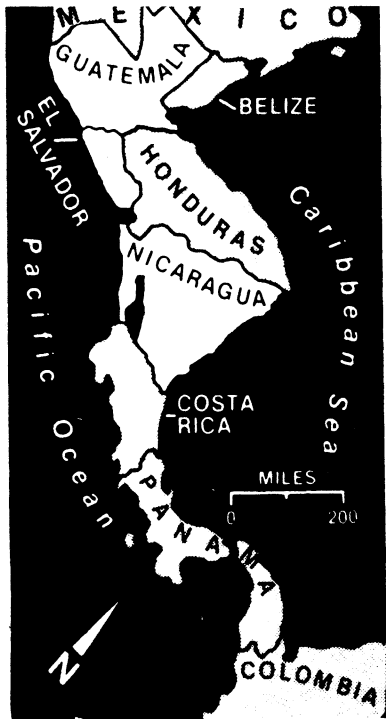
News of church occupations in El Salvador at the beginning of August, together with a student strike in Guatemala, confirm the fears of many bourgeois observers that the fall of Somoza will have important repercussions in neighboring countries.

On August 3, more than 50,000 students in Guatemala City began a strike against the government to demand democratic rights, according to a report in the August 4 *Barricada*, official organ of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Student leaders said the strike was the beginning of a broad protest movement against the military regime of Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia.

Since the end of last year, Guatemalan students, peasants, Indians, and workers have mobilized against repression, the high cost of living, and to demand democratic rights.

There have been strikes among telephone, post office, and public service workers, as well as in various industries. Important victories have been registered against the government in these struggles.

The regime's response has been to



step up repression with the aim of totally smashing these popular struggles. It is estimated that since the beginning of this year at least fifteen persons a day have died at the hands of the police or ultraright paramilitary groups linked to the government.

Meanwhile in Costa Rica, government troops engaged in pitched battles with some 5,000 striking dock workers

in the port city of Limon. Hundreds of people, including women and children, were injured August 19, flooding the local hospital emergency room.

The strike resulted in a cutoff of oil and gas supplies. President Carazo Odio declared the strike was "incited" by foreign governments and expelled three Soviet diplomats from the country.

In El Salvador, *Barricada* reported, members of the July 28 People's League were maintaining their occupation of two churches in the capital as of August 4. The sit-ins are demanding freedom for political prisoners and the dismissal of the military officers that have carried out the repression.

The Associated Press reported August 20 that in response to a fast by about 150 priests and nuns and strikes in several factories, Gen. Carlos Romero promised that all political exiles would be permitted to return. He also promised that the Red Cross would be permitted to check if any political prisoners were being held and that free congressional elections would be held in March.

The priests and nuns held their fast in a second church so that nineteen striking metal workers could continue their hunger strike in the metropolitan cathedral.

In May of this year similar occupations—taking place in the midst of strikes and demonstrations involv-

ing thousands of persons—confronted the regime.

One of the groups at the forefront of these struggles is the Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR), which has the support of trade unions and peasant and student organizations.

The BPR, along with many other organizations, has hailed the Sandinista victory. In a press statement a BPR representative condemned the complicity of General Romero's government with the Somozaist refugees, above all with the 3,000 Nicaraguan National Guard soldiers that are now based in El Salvador.

The nations of Central America suffer the brutality of dictatorships that have close ties to the U.S. government and to U.S. companies. As a refuge for the remaining elements of the Somozaist National Guard, they present a real danger to the Nicaraguan revolution. At the same time, the resurgence of popular struggles raises the possibility of new victories. The downfall of these dictatorships would be an invaluable aid in the defense of all that the Nicaraguan masses have obtained through their enormous sacrifices.

An essential component of the international campaign in defense of the revolution in Nicaragua is solidarity with the struggles of the masses of Central America.

Militant sales spread truth about Nicaragua

By Peter Seidman

The gun-slinging, union-busting government in Washington is maneuvering to push back the revolution in Nicaragua as surely as if it were taking place in Los Angeles or Detroit.

A virtually complete media blackout surrounds this deepening social revolution in Nicaragua—as well as Washington's reactionary moves against it.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—along with their cothinkers all around the world—are on a campaign to break through this curtain of silence and get out the truth about Nicaragua.

The SWP launched this campaign by publishing special issues of the *Militant* and its biweekly Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

It also decided to begin the Fall 1979 circulation drive for *PM* and the *Militant* with sales of these special issues—a month earlier than originally planned.

As of the time this article is being written, areas have had the special *Militant* for only a few days. We have only just begun shipping out *PM* (See box).

But initial results confirm that working people in this country are eager to learn about the struggles of their brothers and sisters in Nicaragua for a new and better society.

Chris Horner, the SWP organizer in Dallas, Texas, explained how his branch was able to sell 150 *Militants* in three days.

"We just told people that Nicaragua shows what working people can do when we throw out the bankers and landlords," Horner said.

George Kontanis was part of a team of six socialists that sold sixty-two *Militants* in a few hours last Saturday. The team went door-to-door in a steelworkers neighborhood in Newport News, Virginia.

Kontanis explained that his team was selling two issues of the *Militant* as a package. One with a feature article on the struggle by Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers for union recognition. The other, the special issue on Nicaragua.

"Most people were just as interested in Nicaragua as they were in the article on the local union," Kontanis said. "This was true even though very few people knew much about Nicaragua."

Plantgate and on-the-job sales are also running high. Socialist auto workers sold thirty in three days at the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York. Cleveland reports selling thirty at three plants in even less time. Dallas sold ten at one shift change at a big Western Electric plant.

Of course, interest ran particularly high in Latino neighborhoods.

One such place is the Mission District in San Francisco. The people who live there are almost entirely from countries in Central America.

Thirty people came in off the street to buy the paper when it went on sale Saturday. Altogether, San Francisco socialists sold 122 papers that day.

Militant supporters in San Francisco also took bundles of the paper around

to organizations that defend the struggle in Nicaragua.

One of these was the Nicaragua Center, where the paper was warmly received.

New York City socialists have sim-

ilar plans. They hope to use these *Militant* visits as an opportunity to talk over what kind of work needs to be done to help build further solidarity for Nicaragua—and get ready to oppose any U.S. government moves against the revolution.

Special 'PM' issue

By Harvey McArthur

For Spanish-language readers in the United States, *Perspectiva Mundial* will be virtually the only source of news and socialist analysis of the revolution unfolding in Nicaragua.

PM has published 10,000 copies of a special issue to meet this need. This press run is the highest in *PM*'s history—more than double any previous total.

Bundle orders from around the country—and around the world—indicate that *PM*'s supporters are anxious to use the special issue to break new ground and expand the magazine's circulation in a big way.

Socialists in San José, California, are setting a good example. "Everybody was so excited about selling the new *PM*," Steve Iverson reports, "that they made individual pledges to sell 179 copies. That's four times more than we've ever sold before in one week."

Supporters in Spain, Mexico, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic have also ordered much larger bundles of the special *PM*. And, of



course, a big shipment is on its way to Nicaragua.

PM won't resume regular publication til mid-September. You can order bundles of five or more copies of the special issue to sell until then for thirty-five cents each. Contact the circulation office at: P.O. Box 314, Village Station, New York, New York 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

...SWP

Continued from page 1

inspiration to young people because it showed that where working people control society, priority is given to the needs of youth.

"We saw in revolutionary Cuba that tremendous parts of the economy are put to use for the development of young people, for education, and for medical care," Sedwick said.

In response to a question about the draft, Pulley declared, "We oppose the draft. The draft is designed to force young people into the armed forces not for the sake of the people of the United States—we have no conflict with humanity—but to protect the economic interests of the tiny minority of the superrich that runs this country."

"We are opposed to inducting young

people into the armed forces and sending them abroad to put down the Nicaraguans, the Vietnamese, or whomever the government sees fit to repress."

"I think it shows the total disdain the United States government has for young people in this country," Sedwick added. "We know that the people who die in wars are not the children of the

superrich. It's the children of the working class and the poor who die in these wars."

The news conference was attended by reporters and photographers from United Press International and Associated Press, *Newsweek* magazine, ABC News, Pacifica Radio, WHUR (Howard University radio), and others.

'Working people should run the country'

Rally launches 1980 Socialist Workers campaign

By Janice Lynn

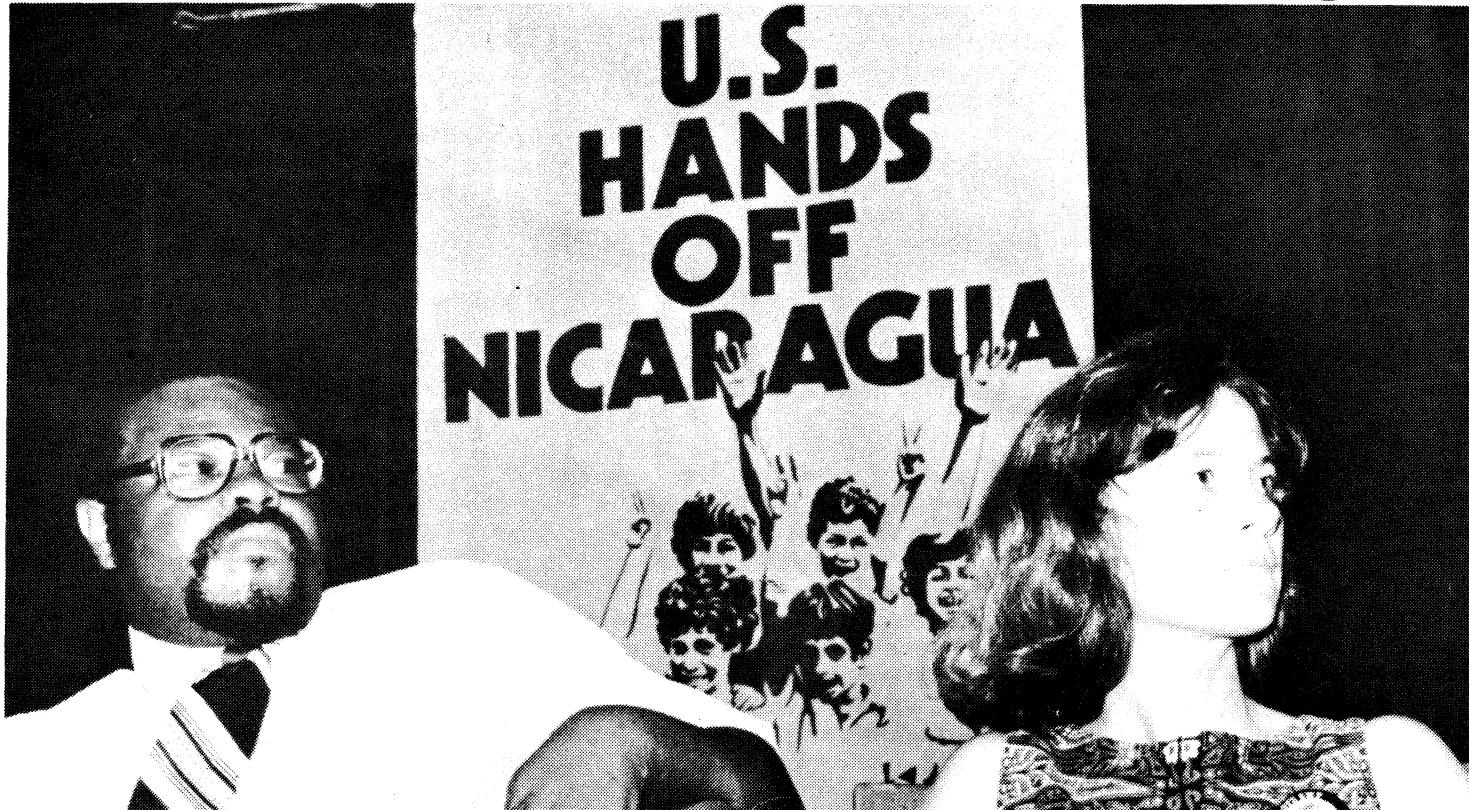
OBERLIN, Ohio—Thunderous applause greeted the Black Chicago steelworker as he strode to the podium. Chants of "Pul-ley, Pul-ley" shook the balcony.

It was the August 10 rally launching the 1980 Socialist Workers Party campaign of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice president.

The candidates were nominated earlier that day by the Thirtieth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. The convention, held here August 5-11, drew more than 1,500 socialists from across the country.

The high point of the rally was the greetings delivered by a young fighter from the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua. Amidst cheers and raised fists, he was repeatedly interrupted with applause as he described the historic victory of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants and appealed to American working people to defend their revolution.

The socialist candidates and their supporters pledged to use their full resources to build solidarity with Nicaragua.



ANDREW PULLEY and MATILDE ZIMMERMANN, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president

Militant/Lou Howort

Steelworker for president

Pulley, a production worker at U.S. Steel's Gary Works and member of United Steelworkers Local 1066, knows firsthand the deepening problems working people face. He knows the pressures of speedup and the long hours of overtime. He feels the squeeze of providing his livelihood and that of his family on a shrinking paycheck.

But Pulley and Zimmermann will be campaigning for a way out of the crisis working people face.

Standing in front of a giant campaign banner, Pulley pointed to its slogan—"Working People Make the Country Run; Working People Should Run the Country."

With Carter appearing on television to admit that the American people have lost confidence in his administration, in government institutions, and in the ability of the current social system to provide a better life, the socialist candidates are confident they will find greater interest than ever in socialist proposals to put human needs before capitalist profits. Proposals such as nationalization of the energy industry; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; taxing the rich, not workers; and using the bloated military budget to launch an emergency

program of socially useful public works.

Pulley described the changing mood of American workers and their growing readiness to fight back. He told how his co-workers at U.S. Steel see more and more clearly how the Democrats and Republicans alike are joining with the oil companies to rip off consumers.

Labor party

"It is the epitome of futility for our labor leaders to continue supporting Democratic and Republican politicians," Pulley said, "who are the ones actually carrying out the attacks on our standard of living."

"Working people should use our unions, our union headquarters, and union finances to fight for our own interests in politics—to rally workers behind independent labor candidates."

"With a labor party based on the unions, workers would be in a much stronger position to take on our employers, the owners of the Democratic and Republican politicians," Pulley declared.

How to strengthen the labor movement is a central theme of the SWP campaign. One of Pulley's first campaign stops will be Newport News, Virginia. There he will pledge his

party's continuing support to the 15,500 shipyard workers who are engaged in a battle for union recognition against the giant Tenneco corporation.

Cuban example

The SWP candidates will be pointing to the Cuban revolution as an example of the gains working people could

make here if workers ran the government.

Matilde Zimmermann recently returned from a two-week visit to Cuba. Cubans she met were excited, she said, to learn that a candidate for vice president of the United States would be campaigning for an end to the eco-

Continued on page 19

'Working class can overcome'

The following message was sent to the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign rally by Debbie Whitaker, a shop steward and volunteer organizer for United Steelworkers Local 8888 in the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard.

My views of the *Militant* come from a person that at one time didn't fully realize how important it is to take a stand on things that any individual believes in.

I was involved with the strike at Newport News Shipbuilding for union representation. I thought I understood the importance of work-

ing people's struggle. But my own battle wasn't enough. The *Militant* gives me a greater knowledge of a battle that is never ending—the struggle of the working class people.

The *Militant* has shown me that if united, working class people can overcome in victory, for our freedom, human rights and a better way of life.

From a striking steelworker from Newport News Shipbuilding, to all working class people here at home and abroad—I hope you have this view along with me.

The *Militant* is the greatest expression of the working class people ever published.

'\$80,000 for 1980' campaign gets big boost

Steelworkers, auto workers, machinists, aerospace workers, teachers, railroad workers, electrical workers, high school and college students, and others at the August 10 rally shouted out their pledges to the socialist presidential campaign of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

When it was all counted, more than \$65,000 had been contributed and pledged—the largest collection ever at an SWP campaign rally. This was the beginning of the campaign to raise \$80,000 for the 1980 SWP campaign by December 31.

"Everyone is welcome to participate," Larry Seigle, SWP campaign

manager, explained. "There are more and more people who want to see the socialist ideas of Pulley and Zimmermann reach wide audiences of working people. Their contributions will help the campaign print more posters, stickers, T-shirts, and buttons; more brochures and pamphlets."

"We especially need funds," Seigle continued, "for the tours of the candidates. Pulley and Zimmermann will cross this country to present the socialist answers to all the major questions in American politics."

"They will go to the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Chicago-Gary, to the coal mines in Alabama and West

Virginia, to the auto plants of Detroit and New Jersey, and to the high school and college campuses. They will talk before community groups, women's organizations, unions, anti-nuclear rallies, and civil rights groups," Seigle explained.

All this takes a lot of money. To make a contribution or pledge, payable before December 31, send in this coupon.

___ Enclosed is \$ ___ to help the Pulley/Zimmermann campaign.

___ I pledge \$ ___ to help the Pulley/Zimmermann campaign.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
Union/School/Org. _____

Make checks payable to:
Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee
14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014

Chairpersons: Catherine Sedwick, Larry Seigle
Treasurer: George Novack
A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.
A federal court ruling allows us not to disclose the names of contributors in order to protect their First Amendment rights.

'Cuba and Nicaragua, united we will win'

Following are the greetings delivered to the August 10 Socialist Workers Party campaign rally from a representative of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Good evening comrades, brothers and sisters.

The victory of the revolution in Nicaragua is an historic occasion for the workers and oppressed masses of the world.

The revolution in Nicaragua is a step forward for all the dispossessed classes of the world, for all those who must subsist by selling their labor power to the vampire capitalist class.

The victory in Nicaragua is the result of fifty years of struggle by Sandinistas, dating back to when Yankee interventionists bit the dust under the blows of guerrilla forces led by our national hero Augusto César Sandino, general of free men.

The complete destruction of the bourgeois repressive apparatus—the National Guard—and the creation of a real people's army—the Sandinista army—have laid the basis for a revolutionary process that can lead to the workers and peasants taking power—in other words, to the build-

ing of a socialist state.

We will defend the gains made by our revolution. We will defend them, guns in hand, to the final consequences, no matter what the cost in blood to our people. The Pentagon and the CIA had better believe it, we will fight just as we fought the Somoza regime, that puppet of U.S. imperialism.

Today the slogan is: "Organization, Organization, and More Organization!" The organization of the masses is being carried out on every block, in every neighborhood, in every town, in the cities and in the countryside. This includes organizing the people in armed bodies, such as the people's militias, the Sandinista defense committees, neighborhood committees, district committees, all the way up to the central committee.

Organized peasants are taking the land, and will administer it collectively. In just these few days since the revolution more than 80,000 hectares of land have already passed into the hands of 12,000 peasant families. At the same time, organized workers in the cities are taking control of the factories. These include the largest sugar mill in Nicaragua, even though it belonged not

to Somoza or one of his supporters, but to a bourgeois oppositionist.

All acts of organized expropriation can count on our support, the support of the FSLN.

Faced with the revolutionary advance of the Sandinista people, the imperialist press and reactionaries around the world have started distorting the facts to suit their own purposes. We must say no to the bourgeois media, we must say they are liars!

The nationalization of the banks is one more step to safeguard the interests of the people and of the revolution. Today it is the organized workers who are saying what will be nationalized and why.

We are deeply grateful to Cuba—the free territory of the Americas. (Actually now there are two: Cuba and Nicaragua.) Cuba has given proof of its unlimited solidarity with our revolution. We remember that ever since the days when we were just a small group of guerrilla fighters, Cuba has supported us, Cuba has supported the dispossessed of Nicaragua.

Today the revolution has begun. The revolution has set us free. But we are still very poor. The terrible destruction and the poverty we face

today are the heritage left by imperialism and its servant Anastasio Somoza. For this reason the question of aid is of vital importance to the Nicaraguan revolution. Because the more you can aid the revolution, the less we will have to depend on imperialism and its pseudodemocratic allies.

You can aid us in two ways. We need political aid, which means demanding no imperialist intervention in any form—whether by Yankee Marines, the OAS or the Andean Pact countries, or through using food as blackmail. And we also need material aid: medicines, food, money, clothing—and even human aid such as doctors or construction workers.

I'll close by saying, as our fighters do: "By these dead, who are our dead, we swear we will win!"

Long live international solidarity!

Cuba and Nicaragua, united will win!

Long live the oppressed peoples of Latin America and the world!

Long live the workers of the United States!

Revolutionary greetings! "A Free Country or Death!"

Thank you.

Meet the candidates: Pulley and Zimmermann

ANDREW PULLEY

Socialist Workers candidate for president

Andrew Pulley's life parallels those of hundreds of thousands of young Blacks who grew up poor in the South.

"I was born on May 5, 1951 in Sidon, Mississippi. I went to a segregated, inferior Black school that housed several grades," Pulley recalls.

He worked in cotton fields from the age of eight at dirt cheap wages to boost the family earnings, which had to provide for twelve people.

"The fact that society was divided into classes and that Black people were especially oppressed was obvious to me, although I certainly didn't use those words then," Pulley says.

"The fact that we did all the labor and got only the crumbs, while the owners of the plantation did nothing and got everything, made the class differences painfully obvious."

When his family moved north to Cleveland they were forced to live on welfare.

The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 outraged him. Masses of Black people rebelled across the country. Pulley and a group of Black students gathered in the high school hallway, protesting the killing. A physical confrontation developed and Pulley was charged with assault. The courts gave him the choice of going to prison or into the army. Pulley enlisted in the army.

At Fort Jackson, South Carolina, Pulley's life changed. There he met two members of the Young Socialist Alliance. They talked together about the superexploitation of Blacks, about the war in Vietnam, and about socialism. They discussed the

Cuban revolution and listened to tapes of speeches by Malcolm X.

Pulley helped form a group called GIs United Against the War. After one of their meetings, Pulley and seven other GIs were thrown into the stockade on charges of "incitement to riot." The case of the Fort Jackson Eight became nationally known.

It was under an army guard in the stockade that Pulley first met Matilde Zimmermann, his running mate today on the SWP presidential ticket. Zimmermann was the national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, which was instrumental in forcing the army to drop the charges.

As soon as he was discharged from the army in 1969, Pulley joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

"From what I had lived through and learned through my reading in the stockade and in discussions of socialist ideas, I had become convinced that this was where I belonged," Pulley says.

Pulley was Socialist Workers candidate for vice president of the United States in 1972 and for mayor of Chicago last spring.

Pulley has lived in Chicago for the past five years. He is a production worker at U.S. Steel Gary Works and has been an active member of Local 1066 of the United Steelworkers of America.

An article published in the March 20 *Chicago Sun Times* on Pulley's mayoral campaign said, "With the birth three weeks ago of his first child, a daughter, he is even angrier; fearful she will grow up in a world dominated by capitalists who will continue to exploit workers, pollute the air, build nuclear weapons, and hold back minorities . . ."

"He looks to the creation of a workers party, initiated by unions, to run against the Democrats and Republicans and put power in the hands of the working people."

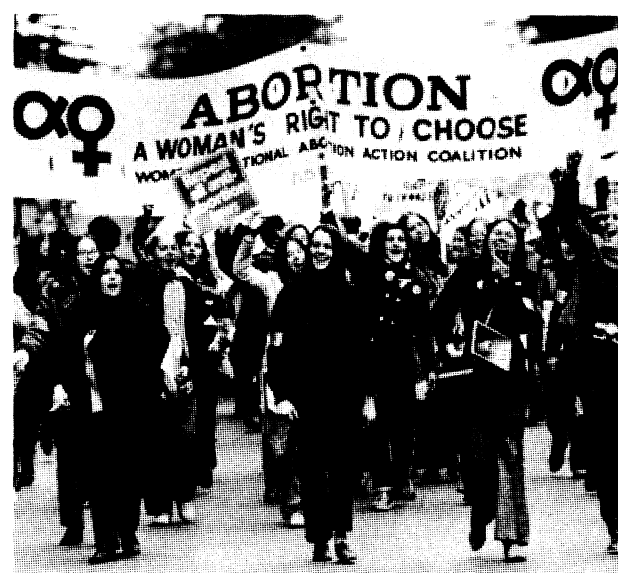
MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

Socialist Workers candidate for vice president

Matilde Zimmermann is a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. She helped organize the massive actions of the last decade that forced the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. And she is a recognized leader in the women's liberation movement.

In recent years Zimmermann has served as a staff writer for the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. She wrote news stories and analytical features on topics ranging from the women's movement and labor struggles in the United States to such big world events as the revolution in Iran and the military conflicts in Indochina.

Zimmermann was born thirty-six years ago in Washington, D.C. She spent most of her childhood years in the Philippines.



Matilde Zimmermann was a leader in abortion rights movement of early '70s.

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison, Zimmermann became active in the anti-Vietnam war protests of the 1960s. In 1967 she joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

When she moved to New York City a year later to teach African and Afro-American history she joined the Socialist Workers Party.

Zimmermann served as national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. While living in Anchorage in 1970 she organized the first demonstration against the Vietnam war ever held in Alaska. In 1971 she was an organizer of the historic antiwar march of one million in Washington, D.C.

The women's liberation movement was then becoming a major force in American politics. Zimmermann was elected a national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which mounted several demonstrations leading up to the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion in 1973.

As an active member of the National Organization for Women, Zimmermann attended the last two national conventions of NOW. She also recently participated in the Richmond, Virginia, labor conference for the Equal Rights Amendment. While on the campaign trail she plans to urge the largest possible participation in the January 20 pro-ERA march and rally called by that conference.

"Women have been fighting for equal rights on the job, for affirmative action, for the right to pregnancy leaves, and for passage of the ERA," Zimmermann says. "The new opportunities for women to draw the power of their unions into such battles is the most significant development for women's rights since the second wave of feminism began in the late 1960s."



Andrew Pulley (left) during Fort Jackson trial for organizing GIs against Vietnam War.

Major crackdown launched by Iranian

Trotskyists face secret trial

As we go to press, The Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS) has reported that ten of its members face immediate trial and possible execution in the city of Ahwaz. An emergency international campaign of telegrams has begun to save their lives.

On August 20, 10 of the 14 HKS members imprisoned in Ahwaz were moved to cells in the Special Court building. This means they could be tried at any moment. The Special Prosecutor has denied them the right to lawyers. No official charges have

been leveled against the prisoners, who were arrested in late May and June.

Telegrams protesting the secret trials and demanding the immediate release of all the HKS members should be sent to:

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

Qom, Iran

In the United States, supporters of the imprisoned revolutionaries are also circulating petitions among coworkers. The petition reads:

"We strongly protest the secret trial of members of

the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) in Iran. These prisoners are antishah fighters who are innocent of any crime. We demand the immediate release of all fourteen HKS members as well as other revolutionary fighters imprisoned by your government, and the lifting of the ban on political parties and their newspapers."

Petitions should be sent to Ayatollah Khomeini in Qom and to the Iranian embassy in the United States, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, D.C. 20008.

By Gerry Foley

Confronted with rapidly mounting struggles by the Iranian masses to defend and extend the gains of their revolution, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has launched a major crackdown aimed at smashing all opposition.

The crackdown occurs in the context of a sharpening of class battles and a polarization on all fronts in the country—from national and peasant struggles, to protests in factories and the armed forces, to deepening opposition to press censorship and curtailment of democratic rights.

Unable after six months to establish either a stable capitalist government or an army willing to crush these struggles, the Iranian ruling class, through the Ayatollah Khomeini, is now attempting to ruthlessly beat down the working masses and their revolutionary aspirations.

This opens a new stage in the Iranian revolution, creating the conditions for an explosive confrontation between the working masses and the capitalist class.

On August 18, Khomeini announced his intention to turn Iran into a one-



Cartoon from now banned satirical weekly 'Ahangar' shows SAVAK agent in judge's robes taunting five prisoners: an oil worker, Trotskyist, Mujahedeens, Fedayeen, and Arab.

Attacks stepped up on Iranian socialists

Paralleling the deepening crisis of the Khomeini-Bazargan government, the regime and the rightist gangs that serve as its auxiliary police have started to lash out in a more and more violent way against members of the oppressed nationalities and workers organizations.

In this situation the lives of the political prisoners being held for defending the rights of the workers and oppressed nationalities are in serious danger. International protests in their behalf take on a special urgency.

In early August, four Socialist Workers Party (HKS) members held in Karoun prison in Khuzestan province were tortured. They were left without protection for hours in the desert sun and then badly beaten. The names of

two of them only are known—Hamid Shahrabi and Hormoz Fallahi.

Fourteen HKS members are currently in Karoun Prison. After the prosecutor in the area told HKS lawyers that there was no evidence on which to try the jailed party members, the governor of the province, Admiral Medani, announced that he would take over personally as prosecutor in their case. Under Medani's jurisdiction in the last two months dozens of Arabs have been condemned to death by drumhead courts.

On July 19, five HKS members, including Shahrabi and Hormoz Fallahi, were transferred to quarantine cells used as torture chambers under the old regime. A few days before this, a well known torturer, Houshang Qol-

door, had arrived at the prison and told the Trotskyists, "Your case is in my hands." A strike by all the prisoners in the jail, however, forced authorities to move the HKS members back to regular cells.

The August 1 issue of the HKS paper *Kargar*, which reported the above information, also noted that it had received news from Karoun prison that nine oil workers arrested while selling the Fedayan paper *Kar* had been taken to the quarantine cells.

On July 19, Siamak Abdali, a member of the HKS branch in Isfahan, was kidnapped while selling *Kargar* and systematically tortured. The next day, a group of thirty or forty rightists arrived at the HKS headquarters in the city. When the besieged Trotskyists

shouted for help, about 500 people from the neighborhood gathered and this held the attackers back.

Although the attack was immediately reported to the local Imam's Committee, it was two hours before guards arrived. They dispersed the crowd, and after a short time left the area.

The rightists then renewed their attack, and this time succeeded in breaking in. They destroyed 10,000 issues of *Kargar* and 3,000 books.

When the HKS tried to file a complaint, it got the runaround between the police and the Imam's Committee. Then it appealed to higher authorities, protesting that these attacks were preventing it from carrying out its election campaign. —G.F.

rulers

party state with a ruling party "like the Rastakhiz," the single party established by the shah.

This attempt to liquidate the democratic rights won by the February revolution was accompanied by a furious campaign to whip up chauvinism against the Kurdish struggle for national rights. Khomeini called for a national "holy war" against them.

The Iranian authorities ordered the closing of twenty-six newspapers and periodicals. This included some bourgeois papers, left newspapers, and at least one publication in the previously proscribed Azerbaijani Turkish language.

Public meetings and demonstrations have been banned.

A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Matin Daftari, leader of the Democratic National Front. On August 20 government forces raided the offices of the Tudeh Party, the Iranian Communist Party.

At the same time, Khomeini appealed to his supporters to help hunt down members of the now outlawed Kurdish Democratic Party.

The ayatollah called specifically for the arrest of Abdul Rahman Qassem-lou, leader of the DPK and an elected member of the Assembly of Experts chosen to rule on the draft constitution of the Islamic Republic.

According to reports from leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (HKS), no newspapers of the left are currently publishing. The central leaderships of left groups have all gone into hiding.

Campaign against Kurds

To create a justification for this crackdown, Khomeini has tried to convince the masses that the nation faces a mortal threat from the Kurds.

Khomeini declared that Kurdish rebels were besieging Sanandaj, the capital of Kurdistan province, and were about to seize large amounts of weapons.

This claim was immediately denied by the provincial governor himself, Mohammad Rashid Shakiba, who told foreign correspondents in Tehran by telephone:

"I don't know who told Ayatollah Khomeini this. It is a total lie. There is no unrest here. Both the town and the barracks are peaceful and the local commander has not asked for any reinforcements."

The government then spread the story that Kurds had beheaded members of the Imam's Committee guards in their province. A funeral for the alleged victims was held in Tehran to incite Persian workers and recruit them to the Imam's Committee forces fighting in Kurdistan.

According to the August 21 *New York Times*, Iranian state radio broadcast shouts of a crowd at the funeral who demanded the execution of Qassem-lou and Kurdish leader Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini.

In reality, what has been going on in Kurdistan for the past two months is not a military uprising but an extension of the revolution that overthrew the shah.

The masses of peasants and toilers who mobilized to destroy the old repressive power began in the last two months to assert their right to the land, to take it, and to organize their own democratic councils.

In fact, these land seizures have not been confined to Kurdistan. They started earlier in Turkmenistan. And they spread to the province of Pars itself, the historic center of the dominant Persian nationality.

Continued on page 17

Young resignation spurs shift

SCLC tops back Palestinian rights

By August Nimtz

The reaction in the Black community to the resignation of Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations—purportedly because of an unauthorized meeting with a Palestine Liberation Organization official—has brought to light the growing sense of solidarity Blacks feel with the persecuted Palestinian masses.

At a news conference on August 16, Young, the highest ranking Black in the Carter administration, warned that the flap over his resignation would cause a pro-Palestinian "backlash" among Blacks in this country.

In the days that followed, a number of prominent Black leaders, most of whom formerly echoed Washington's pro-Zionist stance, took their distance from Washington and Tel Aviv.

Following an August 20 meeting with representatives of the PLO, the Rev. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that SCLC unconditionally "supports the human rights of all Palestinians, including the right of self determination in regard to their own homeland."

Rev. Wyatt Walker of the Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem added: "There will be no peace in the Middle East until justice comes to the Palestinians. All you have to do is visit a refugee camp one time and you will know that the Palestinians are the niggers of the Middle East. The Palestinians deserve justice in the Middle East."

Such statements are an important break in the monolithic pro-Israel stance that has been fostered by pro-Democratic Party Black leaders. Their action will give new legitimacy to the pro-Palestinian sentiments that thousands of Blacks have long held. And it will make it harder for the U.S. rulers to line up support in the Black community for war moves in the Middle East.

Despite the positive change in his position, Lowery has not given up his earlier stance of supporting the existence of the Zionist state. The SCLC president urged the PLO to give "consideration to the recognition of the nationhood of Israel."

For many, Young's resignation has raised the question of why the U.S. government is so committed to backing the Israeli rulers against the Palestinians. The answer is that U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, as elsewhere, aims to protect the interests of U.S. capitalism. In the Middle East that means the big oil companies.

The basic role of the state of Israel is



Opposition to Zionist racism is widespread among American Blacks.

to serve as a powerful military weapon against the Arab revolution—the struggle by the working people of the Middle East to take control of the resources in their countries and use them to meet basic human needs.

Zionist Israel has been established and armed to the teeth to terrorize the Arab masses, keep them weak and disorganized, and strike them down when they inevitably arise against their oppression.

The Israeli state is founded on the seizure of land belonging to the Palestinian Arabs and on the massive expulsion of more than a million Palestinians from their homeland.

More than a million Palestinians live today under Israeli military occupation, and hundreds of thousands of others are subjected to systematic racist discrimination by the Zionist regime.

The continued existence of Israel means oppression for the Palestinians, just as the maintenance of the South African state means continued racist oppression of the Black masses. That's why Lowery is absolutely wrong to press the Palestinians to accept the existence of the Israeli state.

Peace for Arabs and Jews in the Middle East can come about only through the dismantling of the Zionist Israeli state and the establishment in its place of a democratic, secular Palestine, guaranteeing equality to all irrespective of religion and nationality.

The Carter administration had hoped to use the Camp David accords between the Egyptian and Israeli regimes, which sold out the rights of the Palestinians, as a step toward crush-

ing this mass struggle. But the Iranian revolution severely weakened the U.S. rulers' position in the Middle East and gave new inspiration to the Palestinians.

The Carter administration is now trying to buy some time by trying to persuade Palestinians that the U.S. government favors concessions to them if only they are "reasonable."

That's where Andrew Young came in. Young had previous experience in helping engineer deals in Africa that served U.S. imperialist interests rather than those of the African masses or of American working people.

Like others in the Carter administration, Young began making probes to see if the PLO could be drawn into recognizing Israel and giving up its struggle in exchange for paper promises from U.S. diplomats. His overtures to the PLO represented no real concession to Palestinian rights. To the contrary, Young stands committed to the U.S. policy of supporting Israel.

Despite Young's resignation, there is no basic disagreement between him and the Carter administration about foreign policy. That is why Young could announce at the time of his resignation that he plans to campaign for Carter in 1980. He even offered, according to the August 19 *New York Times*, "to take on special missions for the State Department in future months, including a trade mission to Africa."

As United Nations ambassador, Andrew Young served the Carter administration and helped to cover up its racist record at home and abroad. His resignation is no loss for Black people.

Why Castillo is bowing out at INS

By Harry Ring

Leonel Castillo will resign as commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) by October 1. He was the highest ranking Mexican-American in the Carter administration.

Castillo indicated August 11 that he may run for political office in Houston. At the time Carter tapped him for the job with *la migra*, Castillo was the elected controller of Houston.

Castillo first leaked his decision to leave the INS in mid-July. He indicated then that if the administration wanted him, he could be persuaded to stay on.

His offer was responded to not by Carter but by an assistant to the attorney general, who said: "We would like him to stay. . . . But we won't stand in his way if he wishes to pursue some pretty good personal opportunities."

Castillo reportedly asked several other Latino politicians if they would like the job. They responded: "Forget it."

In light of Castillo's experience, this is understandable.

When his slated resignation was first leaked, an associate told the July 18 *Los Angeles Times*: "It's a depressing kind of job, kind of like being a cop."

Castillo's problem was not that his job was "kind of like" being a cop. It was being a cop.

That's bad enough for an aspiring politician who wants an image of representing his people. It's even worse when you've obviously been chosen for the job because they want someone with a brown face to front for a projected racist crackdown on undocumented Mexican immigrants.

In February 1977, a month after he took office, Carter disclosed he would press for passage of legislation directed against the undocumented.

The Carter plan was intended to more effectively control the flow of undocumented immigrants into the



LEONEL CASTILLO

Continued on page 15

Massive layoffs hit auto industry



Overproduction. Chrysler has 435,000 unsold cars and trucks threatening the employment of 131,000 workers. Sales at GM and Ford hit the skids, too.

By Bill Arth

DETROIT—With expiration of the Big Three auto contracts less than a month away, an ominous line-up has fallen into place to challenge the right of auto workers to make a living:

- Massive layoffs have thrown nearly 24,000 Chrysler workers, and 77,500 auto workers nationwide, out on the street. And we are only at the beginning of the new recession.

- Chrysler Corporation says it may go bankrupt if it doesn't get \$1 billion from the federal government and big sacrifices from its employees.

- With prices rising at more than 13 percent a year, the Carter administration says our wages must still be held to 7 percent.

These add up to a serious attempt to divide and weaken our union, ram a bad contract settlement down our throats, and open the way for the companies to make unlimited profits at our expense.

What happens to us will affect thousands of other workers as well, especially those in aerospace, steel, and other industries with contracts coming up this year and next. The attack on the UAW is a threat to the entire labor movement.

Emergency response

I think we all realize that a more than "business as usual" response is called for.

In my local and many others, the layoffs and the contract have been big topics of discussion for weeks. Larger than usual numbers of members have turned out for local meetings to talk about what the union should do.

Thousands of UAW members and our families have joined demonstrations in Detroit against Chrysler's threat to close Dodge Main, a move that would deprive 6,000 workers of their livelihoods.

Of course, layoffs are nothing new for auto workers. The auto industry is especially sensitive to the ups and downs of the economy. The UAW fought for and won a program to provide us some cushion from the effects of episodic short-term layoffs—Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB).

But everyone can feel that what's happening today is something new and different—and worse. Right from the start we are being told that thousands of these layoffs are *permanent*.

The SUB fund at Chrysler is sched-

uled to go broke in October, even though the layoffs are just beginning. Funds are dangerously low at American Motors as well. And thousands of recently hired workers—especially women, Blacks, and Latinos—don't have the seniority to qualify for SUB benefits at all.

With the club of unemployment hanging over our heads, Chrysler is demanding that we accept a two-year wage freeze and no improvement in working conditions. General Motors and Ford won't be long in calling for similar concessions.

Mobilize the ranks

What can we do? A good first step would be to hold emergency meetings of all UAW locals. This would give members an organized way to discuss together the meaning of the new attacks and democratically decide how to respond. After all, it is the union ranks who will have to live under the contract for the next three years and who will suffer from the production cut-backs.

If such emergency meetings were called and widely publicized, it is certain that thousands of UAW members who never before bothered to attend local meetings would be there. This in itself would put the companies on notice that the union is rallying its forces, that we do not intend to bow meekly to their dictates.

Out of such discussions can come proposals for action.

Another step toward fighting back would be the formation of unemployed committees in all UAW locals affected by layoffs. The establishment of such a committee by Ford Local 1250 in Cleveland—at a meeting of 700 laid-off workers—is an example we should follow.

Such committees could help unemployed members get any and all benefits they are entitled to. They could serve as centers for discussing solutions to the crisis, which could then be brought before the whole local for decision and action. They could also serve to keep the entire membership united and active in the union.

Save jobs, not Chrysler

Speaking to Community Action Program (CAP) council delegates in Cleveland August 15, UAW President Douglas Fraser reportedly said: "I confess to you, I really don't care about Chrysler as a corporate entity. But I do

care about the 130,000 UAW members who work for Chrysler, and their families."

I think that sentiment is a good one; in fact, it should be the starting point of the UAW's discussions on resolving the crisis we face. We are not out to save Chrysler but to defend our jobs, wages, and working conditions. We are out to strengthen our union for a fight *against* the companies, not to bail out the companies at the expense of ourselves or other working people.

That's why, in my opinion, it is a losing strategy for the UAW to line up behind Chrysler's pleas for tax giveaways, exemption from pollution controls, and so on.

You don't have to be an economist to know that if Chrysler gets a \$1 billion handout, somebody else has to pick up the tab, and that somebody is working-class taxpayers. If the UAW endorses such a ripoff, it will just isolate us from those we need as allies.

By the same token, we all have to breathe this dirty, poisonous air, and we should not go along with Chrysler's claim that a delay in emissions standards is the price we must pay for our jobs.

Remember, even if Chrysler gets everything it is asking for, there is no

guarantee whatsoever that Dodge Main will be kept open, that Chrysler will not close other plants, or that a single laid-off worker will be recalled. We are liable to still be left out in the cold, while the company keeps coming back asking for more and more concessions.

Deadly trap

Besides, once we accept the notion that working people have to pay somehow for the auto companies' financial problems, it's only logical that they will demand sacrifices from us in contract terms—as Chrysler is already doing. This is a deadly trap.

Settling for a substandard Chrysler contract would strike a blow at the conditions of every single UAW member. If we become second-class union members, who will be next? AMC workers are still struggling to catch up with the Big Three.

Isn't it obvious that Ford and GM would rush to use whatever cut-rate terms are forced upon Chrysler workers as a means to blackmail their own employees into submission? Chrysler's bid for contract concessions is the old "divide and rule" strategy with a vengeance. And it was probably cooked up in close collaboration with

The Auto Crisis:

How to Fight Unemployment

Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate. Production worker, U.S. Steel, Gary Works.

Alyson Kennedy, UAW Local 1250, Brookpark Ford, Cleveland. Leader of unemployed committee.

Jeff Stephenson, UAW Local 1058, Toledo. Co-chairperson unemployed committee.

Bill Arth, UAW Local 140, Detroit. On indefinite layoff from Dodge Truck.

*Detroit Militant Forum,
Sunday, Sept. 9,
7 p.m.*

6404 Woodward Ave. For further information call (313) 875-5322.

officials at Ford and GM.

The only realistic way to protect ourselves is through *union solidarity*, through fighting together to protect the jobs, wages, and conditions of all.

What would this mean in practice?

It would mean we don't abandon our brothers and sisters to the ups and downs of SUB funds that are based on length of time worked and on company earnings. Our next contract should include *guaranteed SUB pay* for all laid-off workers. If the companies default, we should demand that the government pay unemployment compensation at full union scale for the full duration of joblessness.

(Maybe the UAW alone couldn't win this, but what if we took the lead in drawing together steelworkers, rubber workers, electrical workers, machinists, and other unionists in a common fight for adequate government-paid unemployment benefits?)

Solidarity means that we cannot allow the companies to use discriminatory layoffs to reduce the proportion of women, Blacks, and Latinos in the work force—thereby undermining the unity of our union.

Seniority may need to be modified to make sure that these victims of past and present discrimination do not bear the brunt of the cutbacks. A strong union stand for equality and defense of affirmative action will help strengthen the union in the fight for jobs for all.

Shorter workweek

Ever since this union was founded, its program has included the realistic answer to unemployment: *a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay*.

A few more Paid Personal Holidays per year will not make a dent in the current layoffs or help to create new jobs. We need a drastic reduction in the workweek—to thirty hours, for example—for the same weekly take-home pay we now average (including current overtime premiums).

It is also long overdue for the UAW to prohibit *all* forced overtime, especially while any union member is laid off. Slowing down the line speed to a less inhuman pace could also mean creation of more jobs.

We shouldn't let the looming danger of unemployment make us forget about our persistent problems with inflation. We need an immediate, substantial across-the-board wage increase and an improved formula for the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) so that we get full compensation for every rise in prices.

Pensions should also be raised and be fully protected by COLA.

We can appeal to the entire labor movement for active support in this battle against Carter's 7 percent wage limit and against the layoffs that are already spreading to other industries.

Use union power

The auto companies, needless to say, will claim all this is totally unreasonable—that we have to be content with less, not demanding more. They will insist they can't afford to meet such proposals.

This is nonsense. GM and Ford, two of the biggest corporations in the capitalist world, are enjoying record-breaking high profits.

As for Chrysler, we can't afford to let it get away with paying substandard wages and benefits. If Chrysler can't or won't stay in business while paying a living wage and meeting union terms, we shouldn't hesitate to demand that it be nationalized and placed under public ownership.

The truth is that our union can get what it is big enough to take. But it has been so long since the full power of the UAW was brought into action that we don't even *know* what we're strong enough to win.

Mass meetings, rallies, demonstrations, pickets—these are ways to begin flexing our muscles. And there should be a serious discussion at every level of the union about junking the old "one at a time" strike strategy, which merely dissipates our strength, and getting ready to strike all three top auto companies if that's what it takes.

Nationalize Chrysler!

The following statement was released August 20 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Chrysler Corporation is holding its 131,000 U.S. employees, their families, and their communities hostage to its drive for profits.

If the government does not provide hundreds of millions of dollars in tax credits, if Chrysler is not granted exemption from fuel economy and pollution standards, and if the United Auto Workers union does not ultimately agree to some kind of wage freeze and other givebacks—the company threatens to shut down its operations for good.

In Canada too, Chrysler is demanding financial favors from the government in exchange for keeping its 14,000 workers there employed.

To show it means business, the company has already laid off nearly 24,000 workers and announced plans

that the only solution is to restore Chrysler to "health" as a profitable capitalist enterprise.

Other politicians, citing the sanctity of the "free enterprise" system, say Chrysler should be allowed to go under.

Either way, the Democrats and Republicans put the profit system first and the needs of workers last.

Put workers' needs first

The Socialist Workers Party believes it is time for working people to put *our* needs first—our jobs, our wages, our health, our environment, our future.

We believe that labor's program should be: no wage cuts, no layoffs, and no public handouts to the Chrysler company for its own private gain.

One of our biggest problems is that all the facts we need to make informed decisions about Chrysler's demands are hidden under the claim of "business secrecy." Chrysler's secrecy is a conspiracy against auto workers and the public. We need to know:

How much has the company already bilked from the public in tax breaks and bonuses?

What kind of bonanza has Chrysler been making as a top war contractor and the biggest tank producer in the world?

Are its real profits being concealed or siphoned off?

What is the actual cost of meeting emissions and safety standards?

Once nationalized, Chrysler should not be handed over to a gang of government bureaucrats, who invariably come from private industry and are tied in a hundred ways to big business. Instead, we advocate that it be managed by an elected public board.

By insisting that all the meetings of such a board be open to the public, that its books and records be available for public inspection, and that its decisions be fully aired and accounted for, working people could keep a close eye on its operations.

This would place us in the best position to fight to safeguard our interests.

Workers control

The best guarantee that Chrysler will be run in the public interest is to entrust control over its day-to-day operations to the auto workers themselves. It's a safe bet that UAW members have the experience and expertise to run production better than the current bosses.

Today, understaffed jobs and brutal speedup of assembly lines both endanger auto workers and contribute to shoddy quality.

UAW committees in the plants should have the power to slow down the line and make adequate job assignments to see that the highest standards of quality and safety are met.

Instead of the current madness of fifty to sixty hour workweeks for some while others go jobless, the union should have the power to reduce the workweek for all, with no cut from the current average weekly pay, including overtime pay.

The UAW should have full authority over hiring, firing, and job discipline. This is the way to get rid of the favoritism, racism, and sexist discrimination that management now uses to keep workers divided. It would allow the UAW to implement affirmative-action programs to assure equality in hiring, promotion, and training for skilled jobs.

The workers themselves should make all decisions regarding job safety. UAW representatives should have the unconditional right to shut down unsafe jobs.

The union should be the judge of production standards, with the right to inspect both incoming materials and finished products to make sure that no corners are cut at the public's expense.

Workers have no reason to want to "save Chrysler." But we have every reason to fight to save jobs, to protect the environment, and to see that transportation needs are met.

Public ownership and workers control are the way to meet these goals.



ANDREW PULLEY

to close down one of its oldest plants, Dodge Main in Hamtramck, Michigan, by next summer.

This is blackmail.

There is only one answer that can protect the interests of Chrysler workers, taxpayers, and other working people:

Nationalize Chrysler.

The government should take the company out of the hands of the private owners whose only concern is higher profits for themselves.

Chrysler should be placed under public ownership so that its productive facilities can be used to promote the social good:

- To provide jobs at decent wages;
- To produce efficient, safe, inexpensive cars that don't pollute the environment;
- To build socially necessary public transit vehicles and agricultural machinery.

Profit system

Like all capitalists, the millionaires who now own and run Chrysler are not in business to provide jobs. They are not really even in business to make cars. *They are in business to make money*—and to hell with anything that gets in their way.

What does it matter to Chrysler's owners that a shutdown could spell catastrophe for up to 500,000 workers whose jobs are tied to Chrysler?

Or that an especially high proportion of women, Black, Latino, and Arab Chrysler employees would be thrown out of work?

Or that whole neighborhoods in Detroit, St. Louis, and other auto centers could be devastated?

Some Democratic and Republican politicians claim to be concerned with these social consequences of a Chrysler bankruptcy. But they insist



Detroit auto workers demonstrate against closing of Dodge Main, Hamtramck

By Suzanne Haig

RICHMOND, Va.—“The people in this room are the hub around which the movement for ratification in Virginia and in the other two states needed will begin.”

These are the greetings that Suzanne Kelly, president of the Virginia Educational Association made to more the 500 trade unionists at a broadly sponsored “Labor Conference for the Equal Rights Amendment” here on August 12.

The conference unanimously passed a proposal for a campaign of education and action—including a January 20, 1980 march and rally in Richmond—by labor and its allies to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia.

The spirit of the conference, its participants, and its decisions reflected the beginning of a new stage in the fight for the ERA.

The 548 conference registrants were predominantly trade unionists but also included members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), civil rights groups, and others.

The unionists saw the ERA campaign as a way to forge unity in the ranks of labor, bring needed benefits to almost one-half of the work force, and build the coalition that labor needs to fight for all its rights.

Broad representation

This could be seen from the broad representation of labor at the conference. Black and white, male and female, young and old unionists came from fifteen states in addition to Virginia.

More than twenty-three unions were represented. There were members of the United Steelworkers from Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Gary, Chicago, and Newport News, Virginia. There were retail clerks, meat cutters, and factory workers from the newly merged Food and Commercial Workers from Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia.

Autoworkers came from New Jersey and elsewhere. Teachers from Virginia were there. Other unions represented included International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, International Association of Machinists, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, Teamsters, and United Mine Workers.

Representatives of the national Virginia, and North Carolina AFL-CIO were present.

There were rank and file union members, staff representatives, local presidents, and members of women's and civil rights committees.

More than half the conference participants were women. Especially significant was the participation of Black trade unionists, both male and female.

More than 100 met in a workshop on the ERA and the Black community.

In addition to Suzanne Kelly, conference participants heard greetings from the Virginia AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, United Mine Workers, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Virginia NOW, Virginia NAACP, ERAmerica, Richmond Urban League, and the Tidewater Region Central Labor Council.

Wayne Crosby, president of USWA Local 8888 in Newport News also gave greetings. (see box).

Keynote speeches were given by Marsha Zakowski, Civil Rights Department United Steelworkers of America; Charles Hayes, International Vice President, United Food and Commercial Workers Union and executive vice president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; and NOW National President Eleanor Smeal.

‘Join with allies’

Smeal's address to the conference pointed toward the kind of powerful coalition that can be built to win the ERA.

“I think it will be a new day when the Black and civil rights movement, labor and women's movement join hands,” she said. “The fight for ERA has made the women's movement understand politics and be willing to fight. We want to join hands with our allies because we're fighting the same opponents: J.P. Stevens and Winn Dixie, Right to Work, and those against Civil Rights.”

“We are an unratified nation,” she said, “and the issue has widespread implications for women, labor, and the entire country. Inequality plagues the nation. We're fighting runaway inflation. It seems like the conservatives are taking over, but when you read the polls you know better.”

Smeal explained how extension of the deadline for ERA ratification was won in 1978. She described the grass roots support, the millions of letters and telegrams to Congress. When she mentioned the NOW-initiated ERA march of 100,000 in July 1978, the conference broke into cheers and applause.

This sentiment for action in the streets, coupled with suspicion of politicians and their promises was best reflected in the discussion around strategy and action.

The unionists gathered here had drawn some bitter lessons from the battles for union recognition and civil rights and from the defeats in the fight for ERA ratification in Virginia.

The exchange of views and debate which occurred in workshops and in the plenary centered around three resolutions.

The first resolution was submitted by two of the conference coordinators:

Va. labor call for Equal Rights Amendment



More than 500 unionists and women's rights activists from around the country met in

Suzanne Kelly and Jerry Gordon, assistant director, District 2 of the Food and Commercial Workers Union. It called for public actions for the ERA on a local or regional scale during the week of December 2-9, 1979, and a massive statewide march and rally in Richmond on January 20, 1980, to demand that the Virginia General Assembly pass the ERA.

Two other resolutions put forward a strategy leading away from building a massive movement of labor and its allies, and toward relying on getting “pro-ERA” candidates elected in the Virginia legislature.

One proposal, submitted by Jean

Lentz and Marianne Fowler of Virginia ERA Political Action Committee, favored pressuring the central labor councils in Virginia to get candidates endorsed by the Virginia AFL-CIO to support the ERA. Twenty-three anti-ERA legislators had been endorsed by the AFL-CIO for the state legislature at a conference of the Committee on Political Education in Roanoke August 11.

The third resolution was submitted by Dorothy Early of Communications Workers of America Local 2201 on behalf of five CWA locals. It included calling on the conference to go on record against endorsing “anyone male or female who we cannot depend on to vote yes on ERA.”

During the discussion on the resolutions speakers pointed out why a movement of labor, women's organizations, and others was needed to win the ERA.

“Companies have money to put paid lobbyists in the capitol, but labor can put more people in the streets,” one speaker said.

Barbara Bowman, chair of the Women's Advisory Committee of USWA Local 2609 at U.S. Steel Sparrows Point in Baltimore summed up the sentiment of the conference:

Using union power

“Our unions are under attack like we haven't seen since the 1930's. If you take the union power that is in this room and use it to tell people to vote for A, B, or C, you are shortchanging them.

“The union movement has got to show the road forward, give confidence, inspiration, and a willingness to sacrifice.

“That's all we have. We don't have the hoarded gold.

“The demonstrations and educational proposals outlined in the

Among the participants...

Roland Tillery is a Black steelworker from United Steelworkers Local 2609 at Sparrows Point in Baltimore. In the early 1960s he led a successful fight against segregated washroom and locker facilities and jobs at that mill.

Today the women at Sparrows Point are forced to use those same “Jim Crow” toilets. But they are fighting for equal facilities.

Tillery came to the conference because, he said, “something has to be done for the rights of women. There has to be male support.”

Mary Epps came with twenty-seven others from Local 392 of the Food and Commercial Workers in Baltimore.

In her plant, the American Sugar Refinery, the women are organized into a Women's Activities Committee that works with the National Organization for Women. Epps publicized

the conference by posting signs in the refinery. When they were taken down she put more up.

“We have to teach people what they don't know about ERA and get the message out through the union. People are uninformed,” she stated.

Vivian Wilson also came from Local 392. She is an area cleaner in the refinery, keeping sugar off the floor.

“I just joined the Women's Committee one year ago,” Wilson explained. “I've always been for women's equality. I've just been waiting for someone to come through with this. This is my first ERA conference.

“I have no faith in politicians,” Wilson said. “They promise you a whole lot just to get into office and then back out.”

Jesse Jordan, a shop steward from Food and Commercial Workers Local

593 in Richmond came with a group of weighters, meat wrappers, and pricers. “We make less than the butchers though we do the same work,” she explained.

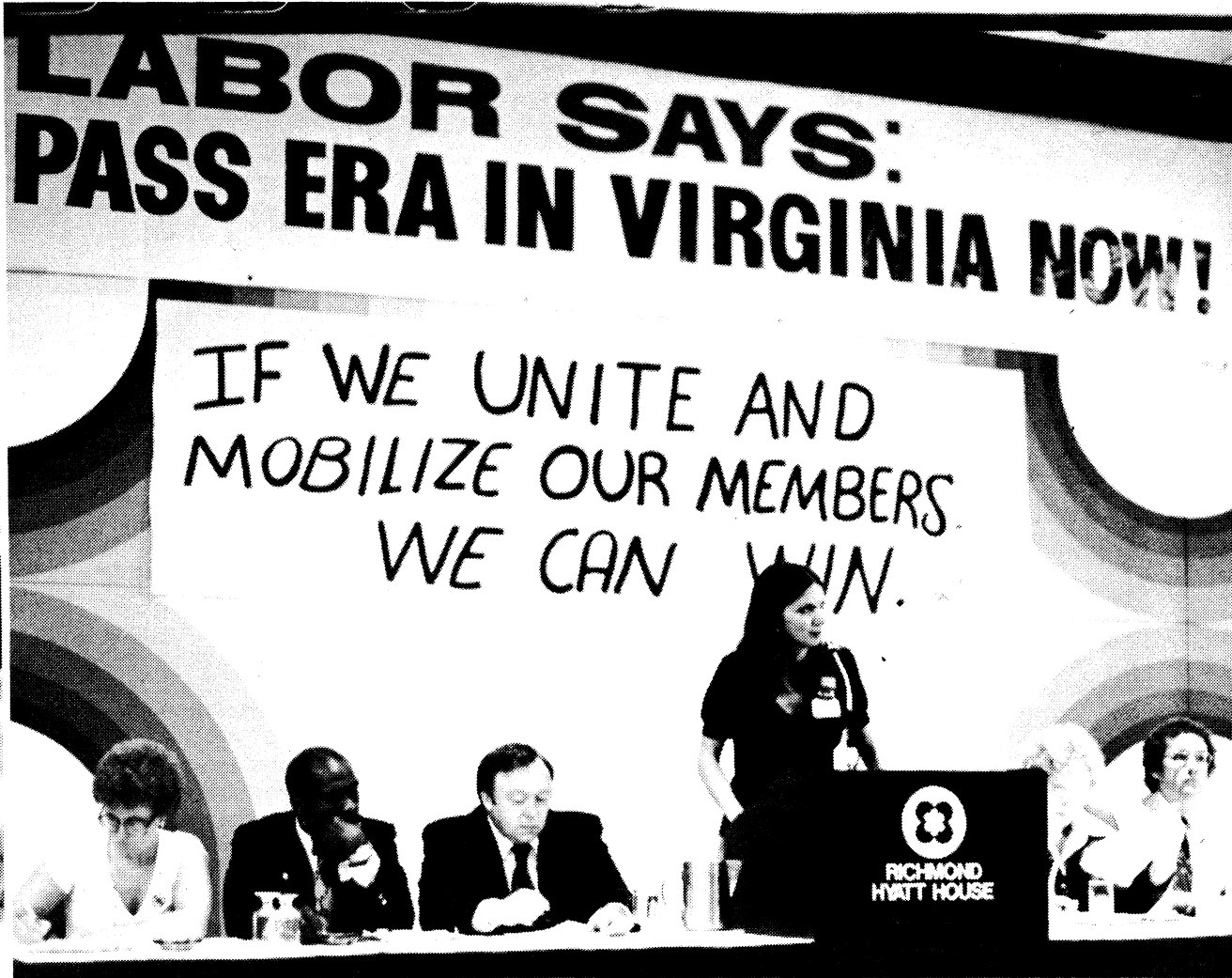
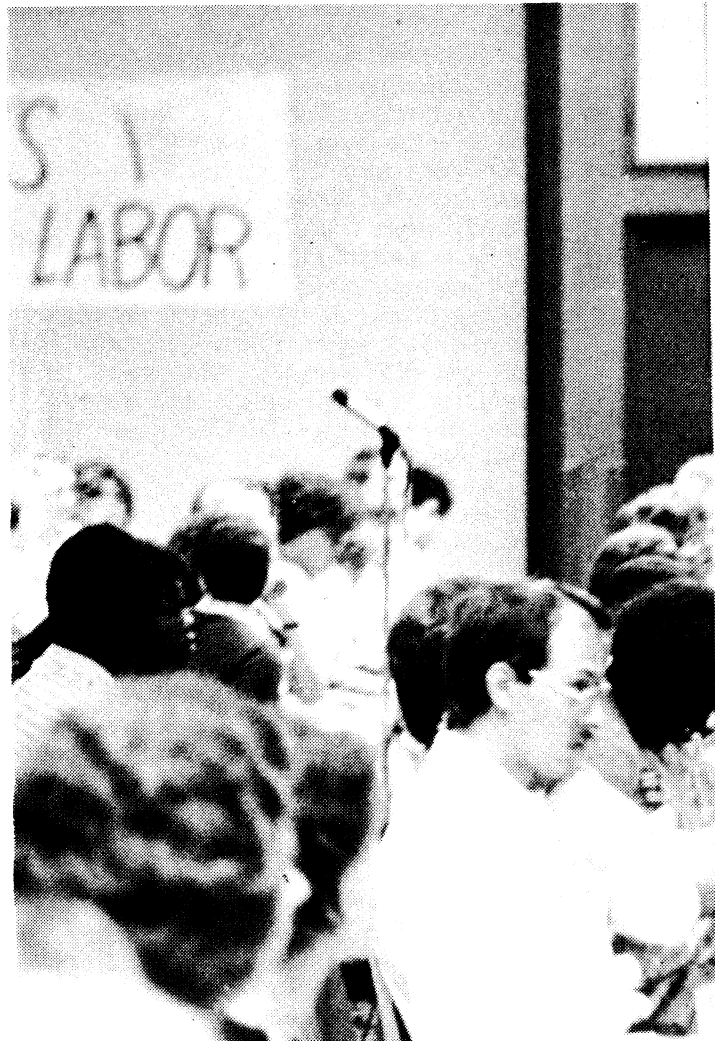
When she gets back to work Jordan is “going to pass around material from the conference in the shop and take it back to the ERA committee in the union.”

Florence Street, a retiree from Local 70 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Baltimore marched for the ERA on July 9, 1978, in Washington, D.C.

How did she get involved? “In 1920 I worked in a factory. Some very rich ladies from the National Women's Party came to us to get a few girls to march. They gave us purple gowns and we marched for suffrage. That was the beginning for me.”

S.H.

Conference sets drive Rights Amendment



Richmond, Virginia, August 12 to map education and action campaign for ERA.

Militant/Suzanne Haig

Gordon-Kelly resolution are the kind of program we need."

Under the discussion of the Gordon-Kelly resolution an amendment was proposed and adopted that unions set aside from one day to one week after the January 20 march for their members to lobby in Richmond.

The action resolution as amended passed unanimously.

After the vote, Marianne Fowler withdrew her resolution calling on the AFL-CIO to solicit support for the ERA from the candidates they endorsed.

"Since people think if this resolution came to a vote it would divide the conference, I'll withdraw it," she explained.

The other pro-lobbying resolution was amended to delete the section that dealt with support to political candidates.

A number of other resolutions passed without dissent. These included support for J.P. Stevens and Winn-Dixie boycotts; feature articles on the ERA in union newsletters; and support of national childcare for working women.

The Virginia regional workshops discussed holding future local building meetings to plan for the December and January actions. They discussed having report-back meetings to union locals and women's organizations. They elected two representatives each to be on a Labor For Equal Rights Now (LERN) state coordinating committee.

A solidarity workshop of unionists from states other than Virginia proposed a number of activities: inviting NOW, CLUW, and other women's groups to speak at union meetings and inviting unionists to speak before women's organizations; distributing the conference action proposal; requesting union distribution of the pamphlet, "Labor's Case for the ERA."

In her address, Eleanor Smeal stated

that she hoped people would "go to your states and start labor ERA conferences to make things better for every person in this country." Holding similar labor conferences in other parts of the country was discussed throughout the conference.

Ideas were raised on what individual unions could do. Marsha Zakowski told the *Militant* that the USWA would want to write about this conference in *Steel Labor* and "coalesce in other states with NOW, CLUW, and ERAmerica."

Wayne Crosby, president of Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, told the *Militant* that he intends "to form an ERA Committee in my local. I don't think there is enough education on ERA and its advantages in Virginia. I'd like to suggest that all local meetings once a month have someone from NOW or other organizations be at the meeting to speak and educate the members. There's a lot of locals across the state of Virginia."

A national LERN newsletter will be reporting on ERA developments in

Virginia and other states.

State coordinators for LERN were elected unanimously—Jerry Gordon and Suzanne Kelly.

The conference ended with the singing of "Solidarity Forever," including a new verse on the ERA:

*"When men and women stand as equals, we will start a brand new day;
But all tradition's ties that bind us must first be swept away;
It will take the might of labor to ratify the ERA;
And the Union makes us strong!"*

ERA & 'right to work'

"Our union has 14,000 members. Thirty percent are women. In January 1978 the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) won the right to represent the workers in the Newport News shipyards. Without the women in there we would not have made it.

"Now with the women and the work force of this state behind you, I know we can pass ERA in Virginia."

When Wayne Crosby, president of USWA Local 8888 in Newport News delivered these greetings to the labor conference for the ERA, the audience jumped to their feet cheering, clapping and chanting, "Eighty-eight, Close the Gate!"

In doing so, over 500 unionists were putting the Virginia legislature, the U.S. government, and bosses like Tenneco in Newport News on notice: they were going to fight for both the ERA and union recognition in Virginia and around the country.

In her keynote address, Marsha Zakowski from the Civil Rights Department of the USWA, referred to the connection between these two struggles.

"Fifteen states have not ratified the ERA. Twelve of those states are 'right-to-work' for less states. Of those twelve, nine are concentrated in the South. So you can see our work is cut out for us.

"If we can win ERA in the 'right-to-work' state of Virginia, we can win in other 'right-to-work' states. And if we can win union representation in the 'right-to-work' state of Virginia—and we have—we will courageously win union representation in other 'right-to-work' states.

"I am happy that my union brother Wayne Crosby and other members of that union are here. You too have had an uphill battle in the face of strong company opposition."

S.H.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Newport steelworkers were hailed by conference participants.

Cops riot against Ohio nuclear workers strike

By Lynda Joyce

CLEVELAND—In a vicious union-busting assault, 100 police attacked a peaceful demonstration of 300 strikers and their supporters at Bailey Controls in suburban Wickliffe August 13. Using riot gear, tear gas, and clubs, the cops injured four people and arrested twenty-five.

Bailey Controls, which makes sophisticated parts for nuclear power plants, is a subsidiary of Babcock & Wilcox, the company that built the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor. Controls for TMI were made by Bailey.

The 850 members of United Auto Workers Local 1741 struck Bailey June 1, seeking an end to mandatory overtime, a wage boost, and other benefits. The company responded with an "offer" of forced overtime and a meager pay increase within Carter's 7 percent guidelines.

The company has refused to negotiate, and a local judge friendly to Bailey issued an injunction limiting pickets to three at each gate.

Bailey continues to churn out nuclear plant controls with scabs and salaried personnel. All the quality control inspectors are on strike. Parts made by untrained workers, strikers point out, greatly increase the risks involved in nuclear power.

"There are protests over safe nuclear



Painesville Telegraph/Edward Suba

In what capitalist press called a 'labor riot,' cops drag off woman picket.

power or no nuclear power," a committeeperson told the *Militant*. "The politicians and the judges and the law enforcement agencies are letting them build uninspected controls. You don't know what's going on in there. It could kill millions of people."

The August 16 demonstration was an effort to force the company back to the bargaining table. Among the demonstrators were fifteen anti-nuclear activists, two of whom were arrested.

A union committeeperson described the cop attack to the *Militant*: "The

police attacked with riot gear, clubs, tear gas, mustard gas. They really didn't care who they hurt—residents, children, grandmothers. You couldn't breathe. A three-year-old boy was playing in his yard, got overcome with gas and had to be taken to the emergency room."

The twenty-five people arrested, including Local 1741 president Earsell Wilson and UAW international representative Dominic Casessa, were charged with aggravated riot. All but one were released on \$2,500 bond.

In an outrageous attack on their constitutional rights, Municipal Judge Elaine Crane banned the twenty-five not only from the picket line but from union headquarters! Crane relented only to permit Wilson and Casessa access to the union offices.

Since the attack, Wickliffe has become a virtual police state at shift changes. More than 100 cops line the streets to protect the scabs and company photographers poise on the roof.

Many of the strikers are angry about the role of the police. "Never again will they get my backing," one striker explained. "I will get on a soapbox and knock down any tax the police department wants from here on out."

The strikers remain determined. "I'm not going to break," one striker told the *Militant*. "We'll just stick together, we'll be all right," said another.

Unionists versus utilities in nuclear debate

By Curt Steinmetz

INDIANAPOLIS—Nearly 200 people and a host of radio, television, and newspaper reporters crowded a room at Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis for a debate on nuclear power July 28.

Speaking against nuclear power were Mike Olszanski, chairperson of the environmental committee of United Steelworkers Local 1010 in northern Indiana, and Terry Hauser, statewide director of United Mine Workers of America Coal Miners Political Action Committee.

The debate was endorsed by three United Auto Workers Community Ac-

tion Program councils, District 11 of the United Mine Workers, the campus Black Student Union, and other groups.

The pronuclear side was taken by John Rutkowski, an employee of Public Service Indiana and Frank Cliekman, a professor of nuclear engineering at Purdue University. PSI is currently building a nuclear power plant at Marble Hill, Indiana.

Olszanski explained that nuclear power wasn't necessary to supply the nation's energy needs. He pointed to the wasteful practices of industry as a prime example of how huge amounts of energy could be saved.

Olszanski added that coal, which, he explained, could be burned cleanly, could serve as a fuel to replace nuclear power while solar and other non-polluting technologies are developed more fully.

Hauser expanded on the advantages of burning coal. He explained that coal production had been systematically curtailed in favor of nuclear power, and that working people had paid a high price in health, safety, and jobs.

Hauser noted that there was enough coal in the ground right now to last hundreds of years. Mining more coal, Hauser said, would mean more jobs.

Almost all the questions directed at

the two unionists were friendly. But one person indignantly demanded whether either of them had degrees in physics. Olszanski replied that his job as a technician in a steel plant required him to make things work that had been designed by engineers with degrees—an experience which led him to have little faith in the safety systems of nuclear power plants.

The debate was a big success for the anti-nuclear power movement here. The movement succeeded in widening its base of support among working people and their unions, and it also exposed the nuclear industry's lie that workers all support nuclear power.

International actions on Hiroshima Day

By Glen Boatman

TOLEDO—About 1,000 protesters converged on Crane Creek Park, twenty-five miles east of here, August 5 to demand the closing of the Davis-Besse nuclear power plant. The Davis-Besse plant, designed by Babcock & Wilcox, was closed a week after the Three Mile Island disaster and was only reopened in late July.

Buses brought demonstrators from around Ohio and Michigan. The action was one of many antinuclear protests around the country commemorating the anniversary of Hiroshima Day. The protest here was initiated by the Toledo Coalition for Safe Energy and was endorsed by the Birgham Unit of United Auto Workers Local 12 here, the Lima-Troy UAW Community Action Program Council, and by a dozen antinuclear power groups assembled in the August 5 Coalition.

The protest began with a march past the plant. Following the march, more than 400 people braved a downpour to hear speakers including Cleveland mayor Dennis Kucinich, who called for the immediate closing of the plant.

Dr. John Gofman, a former professor of medical physics at the University of California, said that "the proof that nuclear power isn't safe is that Congress refuses to repeal the

Price-Anderson Act." This law limits liability in nuclear accidents to a small fraction of what is possible in a meltdown. Gofman called for a campaign to educate and convince the masses of American people that nuclear power is not safe.

Other speakers included representatives of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee and the American Indian Movement.

Hiroshima Day memorial actions were also held in New York City, New Jersey, Boston, Detroit, and

other cities. In Australia, thousands of people turned out for protests against uranium mining. Thousands also turned out in Hiroshima to mark the anniversary of the first use of the atom bomb against human targets.



New York City, August 9

Spectrum/Bill Harrison

Safety inspectors to tour Newport News shipyard

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Faced with a potential contempt of court citation and heavy fines, the giant corporation Tenneco conceded on August 20 to let inspectors from the Occupational, Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) investigate the Newport News shipyard.

Two weeks earlier, shipyard brass denied twenty-one OSHA inspectors, armed with federal warrants, entry into the yard. OSHA then took Tenneco to court.

The OSHA inspection comes as a result of a long health and safety campaign waged by United Steelworkers Local 8888 and the international office of the union.

A thorough investigation of the wide ranging charges brought in thirty-eight separate complaints by Local 8888 would pry the lid off what workers call "the hellhole," a shipyard where and death and injury stalk Tenneco's employees daily.

Charges against Tenneco include: excessive lead levels in the shipyard's foundry; inadequate ventilation on all welding job sites; general inadequacy of safety devices on machinery, from cranes to drill presses; excessive exposure to asbestos; poor sanitary conditions and poor lighting.

While Federal District judge Walter Hoffman said he would continue to "hold the hammer" of a contempt citation over Tenneco's head, he has not yet stated when the OSHA inspection will begin, leaving that to negotiations between OSHA and Tenneco.

Significantly, however, Hoffman ruled that any employee could accompany the inspectors on their tour, overruling Tenneco's objections. This means that members and officers of Local 8888 can alert the inspectors to safety violations Tenneco's management is bent on covering up.

Hoffman also barred Tenneco from taking depositions from the individual Steelworkers who filed the OSHA complaints, upholding their right to privacy. These workers would have been fired had the ruling allowed Tenneco to get their names.

USWA District 35 Sub-Director Jack Hower said Hoffman's rulings were "very favorable for the Steelworkers."

"If the Steelworkers get to go on the inspection with OSHA inside the ship-

yard it will be like a breath of fresh air," Hower told the *Militant*.

Hower said the potential victory of getting OSHA inside the yard concretely shows "the workers what the Steelworkers can do for them."

Tenneco's hardnosed attitude towards OSHA is matched by its unchecked assault on Steelworkers inside the yard. Firings continue, not only in the key X-18 welding department, but throughout the yard.

An estimated two hundred and fifty welders—about 14 percent of the department that was the backbone of Local 8888's eighty-two day recognition strike last spring—have been fired in the last four weeks.

While shipyard brass claim there is a lack of work, there has been a steady stream of new hires filling these slots—most of them, Steelworkers say, of high school age.

"Tenneco's getting ready for a strike," one Steelworker told me. "Those kids look just like the scabs they hired during the strike."

Recently a pattern has begun to emerge of the bosses attempting to rob fired Steelworkers of their unemployment compensation, challenging their claims to the State Unemployment Commission.

One young worker was fired for "picket-line misconduct" after returning to work. His arrest charge was dismissed by the courts. He wasn't rehired, despite three years in the yard.

After receiving two weeks of unemployment, he was informed in writing of Tenneco's challenge and told that he would have to repay the state if the oil-rich company won the claim.

Local 8888's fight for union recognition continues. Tenneco has publicly stated it will abide by a U.S. appellate court ruling on the outcome of the January 31, 1978 shipyard election which saw the USWA beat the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, the company union.

Steelworker and National Labor Relations Board counter-arguments to Tenneco's charge of "vote fraud", which have been twice rejected by the NLRB, will be filed September 4. Tenneco and the PSA reply on September 10.

The court will hear the case on September 12 in Baltimore with its verdict expected in three to six weeks.

ment on the issue. From then on the plan foundered in Congress.

In November 1978, it was announced, quietly, that the plan was being shelved. Instead, a congressional committee was appointed to study the immigration issue, with instructions not to report back until after the 1980 elections. The anti-immigrant drive, however, continues unabated.

Castillo, who had the sorry task of promoting Carter's racist immigration plan, has met increasing hostility in his job.

His attempts to give the INS a "liberal" image infuriated the stone racists who staff the agency.

More important, when he spoke in the Chicano community, invariably there would be pickets outside and members of the audience to challenge him. His image wore thin.

To add to Castillo's grief, there were the wide protests against the INS decision, now being appealed, to deport socialist Héctor Marroquín to Mexico.

At the time Castillo took the job with *la migra*, he told *Los Angeles Times* reporter Frank Del Olmo that friends had warned him it would be "political suicide."

"They might be right," Castillo said. "I do know that it's a high risk job. But with high risks come high gains."

He was only half right.

Haitians in Miami protest sea murder

By Stuart Rogers

MIAMI—Six Haitian refugees were murdered at sea sixty miles north of here August 13.

After paying fifteen hundred dollars to smugglers, they were brought to within a half mile of the Florida coast, when a police patrol car flashed its searchlight on the approaching boat. The two crew members panicked and ordered all the refugees into the water.

When some of them refused, the crewmen threw the young children overboard. The remaining adults jumped in to try and save them.

Ten made it to shore, six drowned. The six were all from the Lorfilis family. There were five pre-teen children and their mother.

The two crew members were arrested and charged with murder.

In Miami's Haitian and Black communities the response to the grisly murders has been one of deep outrage, blaming both the U.S. and Haitian government for what happened.

Community leaders ripped Washington's hypocritical stand of refusing to recognize those who flee the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti as political refugees entitled to asylum here.

As a result of this policy, those who do make it here are compelled to live the life of undocumented workers, subject to every kind of racist victimization and forced to work for starvation wages.

Yet people continue to make the desperate sea journey to escape the misery and oppression of Haiti.

The U.S. insists these people are merely "economic" refugees. True, the economic situation of the mass of the

Haitian people is desperate. But so is the political oppression that accompanies it. Those who raise their voice in protest face torture and death at the hands of Duvalier's murderous police, Tonton Macoutes.

At an August 15 press conference here, Rulx Jean-Bart of the Haitian American Community Association of Dade County, declared:

"The Haitians are fleeing one of the world's most repressive regimes. . . . We join the Congressional Black Caucus and others who demand that the U.S. government hear their cries, just as it has heard cries of the Indochinese and Cubans. We demand equal treatment!"

Bill Swartz, a Washington, D.C., attorney who represents Haitians, said the government routinely grants political asylum to refugees from "communist" countries, but demands that those from other nations prove their claim to political asylum.

The following day, people picketed the U.S. Immigration offices in downtown Miami.

On August 18, throngs turned out to participate in a funeral for the dead mother and children.

Outside the church, one mourner carried a sign declaring, "The victims of twenty five years of oppression."

Frequent outbursts of grief and anger were heard as the caskets were moved into the church.

Meanwhile, Washington continues its support to the Duvalier regime responsible for the barbaric conditions that drive Haitians to flee their country by any means possible.

...Castillo

Continued from page 9

country. It would have assured sweatshop employers and ranchers a continuing supply of super-cheap labor while making undocumented workers even more vulnerable to victimization.

The plank in the Carter program that drew the sharpest fire was a proposal for a South African-type internal passport system under which all aliens would have been required to carry "counterfeit-proof" ID cards.

In March 1977, shortly after the plan was announced, Carter nominated Castillo for the INS post. It was a scarcely concealed move to blunt the anticipated opposition to the plan among the Chicano people.

It didn't work.

In November 1977, a Chicano/Latino conference was held in San Antonio to rally opposition to the measure.

The gathering was attended by 1,500 people representing an unusually broad array of forces. It included the League of United Latin American Citizens, the GI Forum, the Mexican-American Legal and Education Defense Fund, the Raza Unida Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and many more.

Despite a diversity of political views, the gathering was unanimous in its opposition to the Carter plan.

That crystallized community senti-



Mourners at funeral for Haitian family murdered at sea

INS double-crosses Haitians

In one more display of its duplicity, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service signed an agreement in 1978 to issue work permits for Haitian refugees seeking political asylum here, used the permits to get the identities of the refugees, and then revoked them.

This was charged in a class action suit filed in July against Leonel Castillo and other INS officials.

The INS agreement to issue the permits had been signed with the National Council of Churches and the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami.

An attorney for the plaintiffs charged the INS acted "in bad faith" by having thousands of people come forward for the work authorizations and then revoking them after getting the names and addresses.

Gerald Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center said, "Malnutrition, psychological problems and illness are widespread" as a result of denying these refugees the right to work.

The legal action demands that the permits be returned to some 2,000 people involved so they can work pending decision on their applications for asylum.

'They call me Fidel'

How the Cuban revolution helped put a Puerto Rican worker on socialist path

By José G. Pérez

"In the factory they call me Fidel, even though I shaved off my beard several months ago," explains Víctor Cabán, a machine operator in the giant General Electric plant in Schenectady, New York.

"I thought that maybe without the beard they would drop the name, but it seems that for my co-workers, politics are more important."

Víctor is forty-eight years old. Of the thirty years he has been in the United States, he has spent thirteen at General Electric. Like almost all Puerto Ricans, he hopes to return to Puerto Rico some day, although he hasn't yet been able to "because the economic situation there is very grim."

For many years he has been involved with one or another political issue. In the late 1950s he supported the Cuban revolution then in the making. During the Vietnam War he helped organize antiwar demonstrations. After that he became active in the movement in solidarity with the Chilean people and in support of the United Farm Workers union.

He worked in the Democratic Party, and for several years he was a member of the Communist Party, until his experiences in it convinced him that it was not the way to build a revolutionary workers party.

Víctor has also had a long history of trade-union activity, serving for six years as a shop steward in his plant.

In January, Víctor joined the Socialist Workers Party. Recently I spent several hours talking with him to find out what the experiences were that had brought him to the SWP.

* * *

End of an illusion

The year was 1948, the country, the United States, supposedly the most powerful, democratic, and fairminded country in the world. A young Puerto Rican decides to emigrate, because—as always—the economic situation in Puerto Rico was gloomy.

"I came largely because of an illusion," Víctor says. "People said in the United States you could earn a lot of bread, that life was easier here."

"I was seventeen years old. I had finished eight years of school, but I didn't know much about life. I was able to delude myself with that image of the United States, the country where even a humble worker could live like a rich person. But that wasn't the case."

First impressions: "This country was something different. The cold climate and the coldness of the people."

"In Puerto Rico, you go to school and

work like everyone else. But coming here I faced discrimination, something very different for me, something I had never known before. I was very shocked."

Víctor continued: "Three years later, in 1951, I was drafted to go to Korea." There he could see other signs of Yankee racism against Puerto Ricans.

"I was in a unit called the 65th Infantry, which was Puerto Rican and therefore more familiar."

"Fortunately, I wasn't at the frontlines, just near them, since I was in a supply unit. We were in Korea for a year, until they disbanded the 65th because it couldn't hold out any longer."

"Whenever the American army faced much resistance or many enemy troops, they sent for the 65th. The most difficult assignments were given to this regiment. Because of that it suffered many casualties, and finally had to be disbanded."

"They used Puerto Ricans as cannon fodder."

Cuba and Vietnam

Back from Korea, Víctor couldn't find a job for two years, a situation that confronted many other veterans of that war. He finished high school by studying nights and finally got a job at an electrical cable factory in Brooklyn, New York. There he got to know Cuban workers who were raising funds for the July 26 Movement during the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. Víctor always contributed.

"I remember well that New Year's Day, 1959, when Batista fled," Víctor says, "and how much they talked about the victory and the changes that Fidel's 'bearded ones' would make in Cuba. But no one thought that there would be such a deep revolution. I couldn't imagine such a thing."

In 1966, Víctor moved to Schenectady. It was there that he came across groups opposing the war in Vietnam.

He helped organize demonstrations against the war, but during the first years many of the workers at the General Electric plant reacted negatively. "At first I was branded as 'anti-American,' as a 'communist.' And since I didn't consider myself a revolutionary at that time and didn't belong to a revolutionary party, I couldn't explain myself very well and answer the attacks."

But, Víctor said, the attitude of the workers began to change.

"Little by little, the arguments of the antiwar movement—and the war itself, which seemed like it would go on without end—had an impact. Then, by 1970 or 1971, when a group of Vietnam veterans organized to go to Washington to return their medals, people began to think differently."

Democrats and 'Communists'

Indirectly, Víctor's opposition to the war in Vietnam got him sucked into the Democratic Party.

"In 1972, during the presidential campaign, I supported McGovern because he was called an antiwar candidate. There was a group in Schenectady that supported McGovern and I worked with it."

"Then I participated in the Democratic Party, with the Reform Democrats (the 'leftwing' Democrats in New York state). I was a committeeman from 1972 until last year."

For most of the time that Víctor was

in the Democratic Party he was also active in the Communist Party.

"I joined the CP because I was involved in the antiwar movement and I realized that the problem was much greater than the war, that basic and radical changes were necessary, that is, that a revolution like the one Fidel and his people made in Cuba was needed here. I thought that since it called itself the Communist Party it must be a revolutionary party."

"When I joined the CP, I was planning to leave the Democratic Party. But then the comrades of the party—the Communist Party—told me no. They said you had to belong to and work in the Democratic Party. I had already become disillusioned and fed up with the Democratic Party and said so to my club chairman. I said that since I was a communist, I was leaving. But he insisted that I not leave . . . because there were lines of communication . . . to maintain contact with the masses . . . things like that."

Víctor explained to me that he was supposed to try to influence people, get them to adopt more progressive positions, and eventually win them to the Communist Party. In fact, Víctor went so far as to run in the Democratic primary as a candidate for the U.S. Congress. Throughout all this, the CP's policy was to not identify its members as such, supposedly because of a fear of repression, implying that it would be more difficult to attract new people to the party.

"My greatest contact was with the Reform Democrats, young people who had participated in the McCarthy and McGovern campaigns. The problem was that these young people, even if they began as reformers, ended up in the regular Democratic Party. The Democratic Party ate them up. They were swallowed up. Such people join the Democratic Party to change it, but it isn't the party that changes, it is they who are changed by the party. But they could never bring me to that point. They couldn't control me or sidetrack me."

Víctor formally remained in the CP until the end of 1978, when he came in contact with the SWP, but the CP club in Albany had stopped functioning long ago.

Union Activist

Víctor has also been active for many years in his union, Local 301 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (the main electrical workers union).

He told me how General Electric makes use of bureaucratic procedures for settling grievances—complaints about safety, contract violations, etc.—to weaken the union, practically paralyzing it on many occasions.

"We have the right to strike if we win a grievance and the company doesn't settle," Víctor explained, "but what's happening is that that right is being used less and less, and so the company is slower to respond each time."

It was through his union activity that Víctor came in contact with the SWP.

When he did, Víctor noticed a marked difference between it and the Communist Party. "I wanted to belong to an active party, a serious party, and when I came in contact with the SWP, I saw the seriousness."

"For example, in the Communist Party the paper generally wasn't sold, it was given away. This didn't seem



New York street scene. Cabán came here from Puerto Rico at seventeen believing that in the U.S. 'a humble worker could live like a rich person.'



A rare 1959 photo of Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra with Camilo Cienfuegos, early leader of the July 26 Movement who was killed shortly after revolution came to power. Victor Cabán was among U.S. workers who contributed to support of the July 26 fighters.

like a good idea to me, because when someone pays for the paper, it's because he or she wants it, is going to read it, isn't going to throw it away."

According to Victor, his CP club got about 200 papers a week, but they weren't distributed. "Fifty were distributed, something like that."

"The majority of comrades didn't distribute them openly, either, but only passed it on to one friend or another." Victor was forbidden to distribute the paper in his plant, for fear that he would be identified as a Communist.

"The strangest thing is that in the plant they had already nicknamed me 'Fidel,' because every time there was a discussion, I always took the side of Cuba and socialism. The only thing that this policy of not identifying yourself as a member of a party did was to prevent more people from being recruited to the party."

In reply to a question about why he decided to leave the CP and join the SWP, Victor explained: "Well, the question of seriousness, which is very important to me, and the question of democracy. Also, the SWP defends a purer kind of socialism, it defends international struggles, like that of Angola and Vietnam."

"I don't mean that the CP did nothing around international questions, but I didn't agree with what they were doing. I remember during the war in Vietnam I questioned why the Soviet Union allowed this to go on. Vietnam was getting weapons, yes, but the aid wasn't as complete, as open as the line Fidel was putting forward, that Vietnam had to be defended to our last drop of blood."

Impact of Cuban revolution

From many of Victor's comments over several hours of the interview, it can be seen that one of the most important political influences on him has been the Cuban revolution.

However, it can also be seen from Victor's remarks that many other workers have been and are being influenced by that revolution.

I asked him whether, when they called him Fidel, they said it as an insult, harassment or whatever. And he answered quite seriously: "No, it's not a matter of insult, maybe harassment at most, but also a bit of praise. Because even though some workers criticize socialism and communism, they have a different idea about Fidel and the Cuban revolution. Even though they reject communism, or the image they have of communism, at the same time they accept, or are less negative, toward Cuba."

They see the difference, partly be-

cause Cuba is different, partly because it is closer to home. They also see the injustice done to Cuba, like when the CIA tried to topple Fidel with the Bay of Pigs incident, and all those things.

"They also see that Fidel has his line, that he doesn't change it, that he doesn't sell out. If someone doesn't agree with something, they do have a lot of respect for him, even admiration."

"People realize that there is a difference between the question of Russia and what goes on in Russia and what the Russian leaders do, and the question of Cuba and Fidel."

Victor also pointed out that in the last few years, the change in attitude among workers toward Cuba has been fairly obvious. "When all's said and done, Castro has won a lot of respect. On this question of releasing prisoners, of establishing contact with the Cubans here, he has been reliable, he has kept his word. And on the question of aid, of sharing his grain in Africa, Angola and other countries, he has also been consistent."

"When Carter came out with this human rights business, Fidel picked up on it and began releasing political prisoners. And now Carter doesn't know what to say about Cuba. People know that. A little has been published, and I also tell it to them. I tell it to them and they know I am not telling a lie."

I pressed the question of whether it bothers him that they call him Fidel.

He said to me, "what they mean by that is a good socialist. I'd be more worried if they took the nickname away from me because they thought I didn't deserve it any longer."

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

"Nothing could be more ironic for Puerto Ricans than the celebration of 200 years of American independence. . . . To understand the economic crisis and political ferment on the island, the recurring debates over Puerto Rico in the United Nations, and the maneuvers in the U.S. Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States."

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...Iran

Continued from page 9

The Imam's Committees in Kurdistan acted to defend the property of the big landlords against the peasants. In battle after battle over the last two months, these reactionary gangs have been defeated, and the central government has had to send out army and police to help them. This has led to a widening conflict in which the Kurds have had to take over more and more of the police and military bases in the region.

The latest clash has centered around the town of Paveh near the Iraqi border. It was here that the central government won a "victory" in its "holy war." The locality was reoccupied August 18 by government troops. Eleven Kurds were executed for "waging war against God and his representatives."

Democratic elections

However, according to most reports, all the Kurds had been doing in Paveh was asserting their right to run their town, organizing elections for a local council, one similar to those already elected in villages throughout Kurdistan.

The Khomeini-Bazargan government apparently decided to make a stand in some places in an attempt to prevent the process of democratic organization from spreading to the towns.

In mid-July, the government had already sent army and militia forces in to the town of Marivan to try to stop the Kurds from electing a council there.

As the conflict spread, the role of the central government in Kurdistan became more and more clearly exposed.

When the Kurds occupied the headquarters of the Imam's Committee in Marivan, the August 1 issue of the Trotskyist paper *Kargar* reported, they found documents showing close collaboration between the Imam's Committee guards, the army and police, and the big landlords.

Drive against workers

Utilizing the banning of all political activity, Iran's industrialists have begun to move against the most militant sections of the working class. Since the repressive measures were instituted, the capitalists have begun firing strike leaders and worker militants throughout the country.

Previously, the ruling class had sought to pacify the workers in some cases with concessions. The powerful oil workers, for example, were given large wage increases. This did not

work. In late July, the oil workers began to protest that the government was secretly selling oil to the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel. The government had promised after the revolution to cut all oil supplies to the two countries.

The response of the workers to the government crackdown will be decisive. Already the banning of newspapers and parties has produced giant political discussions in the factories. Unable to obtain newspapers, workers have begun bringing transistor radios to work to follow the latest developments.

The Iranian ruling class has made a giant gamble by its decision to crack down completely. It is relying heavily on Khomeini, the one figure in the government with authority. But by using his authority against the working masses, Khomeini is using his authority up—rapidly.

On August 7, when he confiscated the daily *Ayendegan*, 200,000 people marched in the streets of Tehran to protest. Organized gangs supporting Khomeini were sent to break up the demonstration. The marchers fought back.

The next day, rightists gangs were sent on a rampage through Tehran, attacking the offices of the opposition parties, ransacking leftist bookstores, and beating up unveiled women. The HKS headquarters in south Tehran was wrecked, along with that of the Fedayeen.

However, the rightist mobilizations remained relatively small.

The weaker the government has become, the more Khomeini has escalated his repressive moves, his demagoguery, and his threats. Some sections of the bourgeois forces have felt pressure to verbally dissociate themselves from his antidemocratic moves. In mid-July, Ayatollah Shariat Madari, the central bourgeois figure in Azerbaijan, let it be known that he thought Khomeini could last no more than a few months. In the following weeks, the capitalist press voiced fears that Khomeini's moves were creating an explosive situation.

In its August 18 issue, one of the best informed British business magazines, the *Economist*, wrote: "The question may no longer be whether the Khomeini regime will endure as successor to the Shah's. It is which force is likelier to replace ayatollahdom."

The real fear of imperialist circles and the Iranian ruling class is that if the new crackdown fails, it will lead to a political break by the Iranian working masses with the capitalist government and open the road to big advances for the class struggle.

Outcome of Iran elections

In the elections for the Assembly of Experts held in Iran on August 3, the Socialist Workers Party (HKS) ran three of its fourteen members imprisoned in Khuzestan Province—Hamid Shahrabi, Mahsa Hashemi, and Mustafa Gorgzadeh. The fourth HKS candidate in the largely Arab oil producing region was Ali Mazra'e, a worker at a steel-pipe factory in Ahwaz.

The HKS also ran candidates in Isfahan, Shahr Kord, Tehran, Tabriz, and in two cities in the Caspian coastal province of Gilan—Bandar Enzeli and Rasht. A large percentage of the candidates were women and youth.

In Isfahan, the candidates were Shohreh Amin, one of the party's most prominent woman leaders; Nurik Aghazaryan, a soldier; and Nurallah Farzan, a textile worker.

In Tehran, the HKS ran seven candidates, including Babak Zahraie, editor of the party's weekly paper *Kargar*. Zahraie was credited with more than 16,000 votes, and two women candidates in the capital were credited with roughly 2,000 each. The

official vote for the HKS in the other cities has not yet been reported.

The elections were grossly rigged and even these results clumsily falsified. In fact, this created a national scandal and helped to deepen the political crisis of the Khomeini-Bazargan government.

The imprisoned HKS candidates were prevented from giving interviews to the press, and even from issuing statements. In Isfahan, the party was subjected to constant rightist attacks and its headquarters sacked. In Tabriz there was a systematic campaign by rightists to drive HKS paper sellers from the streets.

The HKS used its campaign to explain the undemocratic character of the elections and of the Assembly of Experts. It called for dissolution of this body and for the election of a genuine constituent assembly. At the same time, it took advantage of the elections to publicize its program for a workers and peasants government to solve the economic and political crisis facing the country.

Piedra tells of Mexican gov't crimes, backs Marroquin

The following are excerpts from the testimony of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra at the deportation hearing of Héctor Marroquín. The hearing took place April 3-5 in Houston, Texas, before immigration Judge James Smith.

Marroquín—who is seeking political asylum in this country—is a trade unionist and a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was forced to flee Mexico in 1974 to avoid being victimized for his political beliefs.

At the deportation hearing, Marroquín testified and offered documentary proof and expert witnesses on behalf of his claim for asylum.

Six days after the hearing, Judge Smith, ignoring the evidence, denied asylum and ordered Marroquín deported from the U.S. Smith's decision is now under appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

In the excerpts below, Margaret Winter is Marroquín's attorney.

Winter. Mrs. Piedra, where do you live?

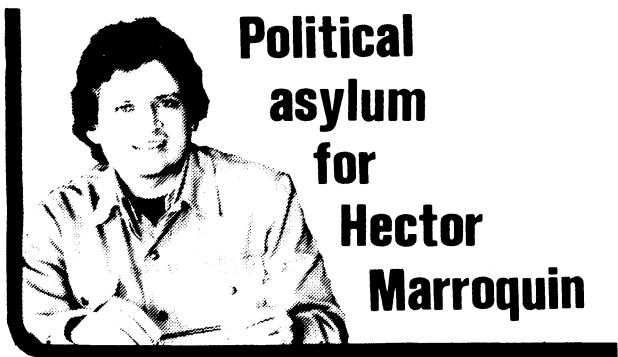
Piedra. I live in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico.

Winter. Are you a member of any organization?

Piedra. Yes, the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared, and Exiled.

Winter. Would you please explain how the committee began?

Piedra. In April 1975 my son, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was kidnapped by the police in the streets of



**Political
asylum
for
Hector
Marroquin**

Monterrey. They accused him of being a guerrilla. He was studying the third year in medical school in Monterrey.

He was walking in the street and there came six men. One of them threw his hands on my son's mouth. With machine guns and pistols they beat him and they took him in a car. There are witnesses but they are frightened to come and testify.

Winter. How many witnesses?

Piedra. Three.

Winter. When was the last time you heard from you son?

Piedra. Well, I heard from my son on the 18th of April, 1975. He called me by telephone and well . . . he called me often. And he was going to call me again in eight more days. He didn't call me anymore and the 30th of April it appeared in the newspaper of Monterrey, *El Norte*, that my son was captured, kidnapped by the police, and taken to the Military Camp #1 in very bad condition. He was tortured and they feared my son would die.

Winter. How did your son's problems with the authorities begin?

Piedra. His problems were in 1973 because of an action in Monterrey where someone was kidnapped. The police wanted to find the guilty. They started to persecute all the students that they thought could do this thing. And they began to arrest many, many young men and women. All of them were active students in their school, in political activity. They went to demonstrations, to meetings. They asked the government for a better education and better ways to learn in school. And I think some of them were also workers from the university or from the factories in Monterrey. Monterrey is a city where there are many factories and there are many workers. And all those who ask for better ways of life, are hunted by the police.

Winter. And how old was your son at the time?

Piedra. When he was kidnapped he was twenty-one years old.

Winter. Now you were starting to say that there was some trouble.

Piedra. Yes. [My son] left in my car. He went to buy cheese and a bottle of oil and he never came



Rosario Ibarra de Piedra (inset) helped organize October 2, 1978, march in Mexico City to demand amnesty for political prisoners and presentation of 'disappeared.'

back to my house. My car was found with four bullet holes. And the police went to my house without any order and they took books and pictures and they took clothes and many things. And they were asking me for the 500 M-ls. These are machine guns. Well, we didn't have anything.

Winter. Is this the first that you knew that your son was in trouble?

Piedra. Yes. I didn't know anything. They took my husband and me to the police station. They told us my son had a car accident and they took us off to the police station. There they were shouting to us and telling us that my son was a guerrilla and he had killed a policeman . . . many things.

Winter. When did you first hear from your son after that?

Piedra. Four months later. I didn't know where my son was from that night. And four months later my husband, he's a doctor, was in his office with his patients. And the police went into the office without a warrant. My husband had in his pocket . . . I don't know the word in English, an *amparo*.

Winter. Do you want to describe what an *amparo* is?

Piedra. An *amparo* is an order from a judge to protect a man from the action of justice itself, no? When he considered that he is going to be taken unfairly he got an *amparo*. There were three men and they said they were federal agents. My husband showed them the *amparo* and they threw it away and they said, "This is no good for us. You come with us to the police station." And they took him.

Winter. What is your husband's name?

Piedra. Jesús Piedra Rosales.

Winter. How old is he?

Piedra. He is sixty-six years old and in 1974 he was sixty-two. He was taken to this police station and they asked him where my son was. He didn't know. And they tortured him. They broke his spine. He couldn't walk for five months and he was in the hospital in Monterrey.

Winter. What date was it you heard [your son] was arrested?

Piedra. The 30th of April, 1975. I read it in the newspapers. He was tortured.

Winter. How do you know he was tortured?

Piedra. I went to speak with the newspaper editor. He told me he had a way to prove it, but that he was not going to tell me because he was afraid. And that was a very good newspaperman. He was forty years a newspaper man and he was going to say always the truth. That's what he told me.

I went to Mexico City and I spoke with the Attorney General and to President Echeverría. I spoke with him thirty-nine times. I was after him in every meeting, in every ceremony, and I said: "Please, Mr. President, I want justice. I want to see my son. If he deserves to be in jail, do it like that, but don't disappear him, don't torture him." I did this for one and a half years.

I thought, in my country, our Constitution was very good. I thought our laws were good, too, and I thought everyone who got to a judge or to an authority was going to have justice. But now I know

that this is not true. I am disappointed in the laws of my country. I would like to change all these kind of things.

And doing this, during all these one and a half years, I could see many, many women: mothers, wives, and sisters; relatives of many other disappeared persons in Mexico. And when the government of Echeverría was finished, I went to my house and I was, how can I say, dejected. I was crying, but I started to fight again. I went to see the relatives of political prisoners, and disappeared persons and exiles and we founded the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, Disappeared, and Exiled.

This was in March 1977. A month later we had our first official act. We went to the Ministry of the Interior in Monterrey, demanding presentation of my son Jesús on the second anniversary of his kidnapping. Then later, in August, we called all the similar groups in all the states of Mexico and we had a rally. There were people from Guerrero, Jalisco, Sinaloa, and many other states where many Mexican citizens were disappeared. In the state of Guerrero we have a list of 380 disappeared persons. And in Sinaloa there are 42 and in other states 5, 10, etc. We have at this moment 451 disappeared Mexican citizens.

Winter. What was the purpose of forming this committee?

Piedra. Well we saw that all these citizens were disappeared and imprisoned, not for things they had done, but for their beliefs. And we called them "political prisoners." We tried to make the government give us a law of amnesty to release them.

In August 1978 we had a hunger strike in the cathedral of Mexico City. Eighty-seven women with black dresses asked the president for our children. There was going to be a State of the Union address and we wanted the president to say something about our children.

The Minister of the Interior called up and said, "You go home, please go home. You are going to know soon about the whereabouts of your children." And we took the word of the Minister of the Interior because he told us the president was offering that to us. So we went home and we were waiting there.

We were full of hope. But nothing happened. And then we had another hunger strike. This time we were two weeks in a hunger strike in a church called Plaza de la Santa Cruz.

Winter. When was that?

Piedra. It was in November 1978. But nothing happened. We had a hunger strike in Mexico City, in Monterrey, in Acapulco, and other places. And the police and army came to threaten us. And we went home again. Now we are trying to bring this to the attention of all the world and all the people of Mexico. We want to make all the workers and peasants and students ask the Mexican government for the disappeared. We are trying to make them ask this because the list of disappeared we have are full of the names of peasants and workers and students. The mothers of these persons are working now with us and we are trying to find them this way.

...violence

Continued from back page

attack because they are good union members," Johnston said.

Company claim

The following day in a statement to TV Channel 6, John Coleman, general foreman at the mine, indicated the problem stemmed from the fact that miners were upset that the *Militant* had been distributed at the mine.

In response to this charge, Ellen Bobroff later called it, "A poor attempt to shift blame from the company to the union. The miners were below in the mine when the violence occurred. In fact, the relatively few miners we got to show the *Militant* to—Jim Walter won't let us distribute it at work—seemed to like what it had to say about what's going on at the mine.

"The company's whole aim is to take the heat off their outrageous safety violations, their blatant attacks on the

union, their attempt to drive women from the mines—and put it on union activists fighting for safety and equal rights."

That same day, in a thinly veiled threat against union activists, Jim Walter officials told the media they could not "guarantee their safety" away from the job.

Theft

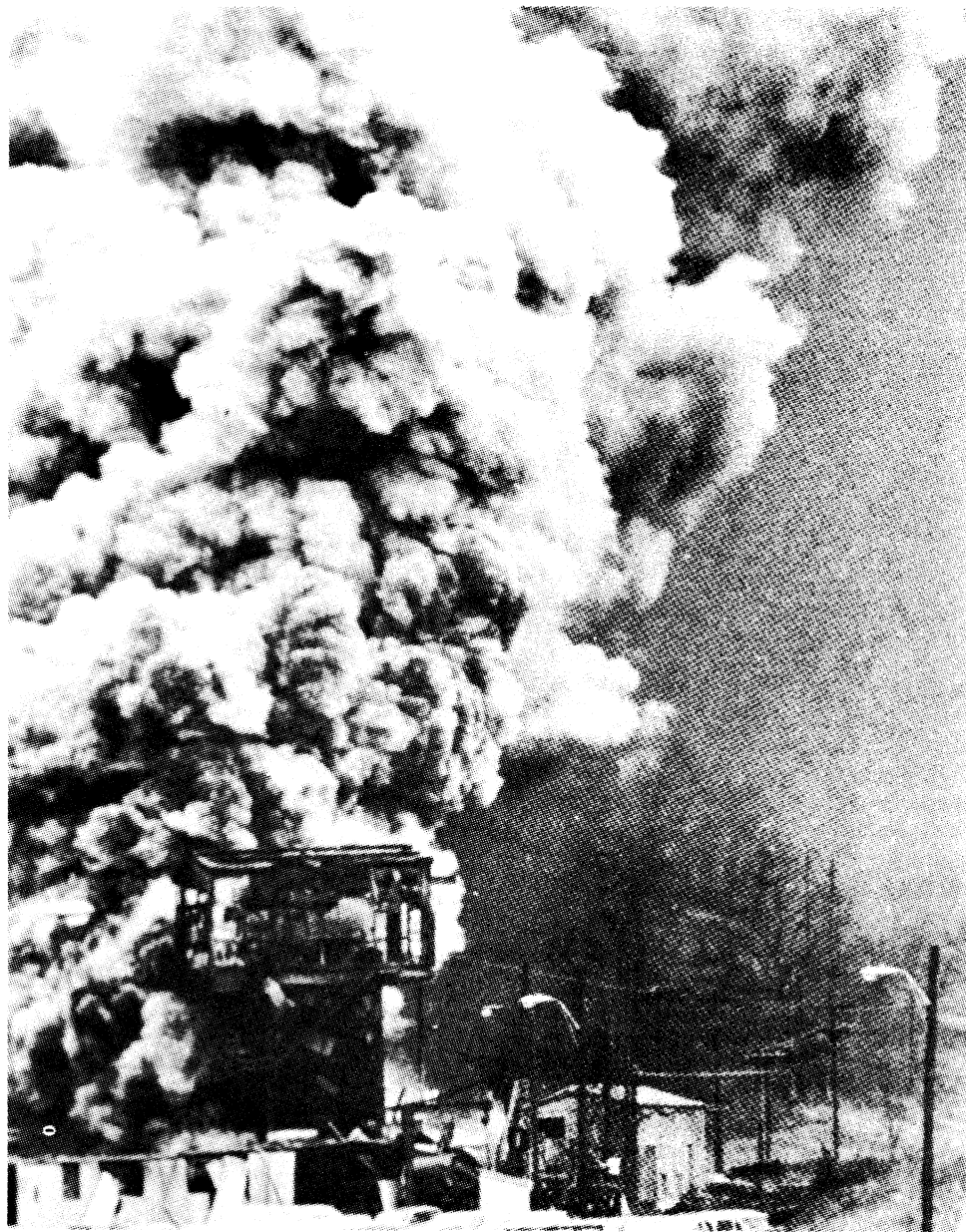
It was at the close of this same day that Johnston and Bobroff discovered the theft of their personal possessions. As they were leaving the mine to go to their lockers that afternoon something out of the ordinary happened. The "mantrip" that transports miners from the mine to the surface was held up several minutes by management.

Johnston and Bobroff believe this unusual delay, which prevented them from getting to the bathhouse at the normal time, was engineered by company officials to expedite the theft.

As the women miners left work, in contrast to the day before, they found nobody waiting at the gates. Down the road a tiny group of less than ten, including the rightwinger who had led the redbaiting as they left the mine the previous day, were gathered across the street from a bar. As the women drove past, one of the rightwingers heaved a beer bottle, which grazed the windshield of a car.

After being turned away from the mine because of stolen work gear August 20, the following day Johnston and Bobroff reported to work as usual.

Also returning to work the same day were the five woman miners who had been fired off the track crew. The union had scored a victory in a grievance, forcing Jim Walter to rehire them.



What the Alabama struggle is about. The ignition of leaking gas in mines can cause disasters like this one in Farmington, West Virginia, in 1968.

B'ham forum

Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice president, will be the featured speaker at the Birmingham Militant Forum on: The Revolution in Nicaragua—It's Meaning for American Workers.

The forum will be held Friday, August 31, 8:00 p.m., Pathfinder Bookstore, 1609 5th Avenue N., Birmingham, Alabama. For more information call, 328-9403.

...Ohio rally launches 1980 campaign

Continued on page 6

nomic blockade against Cuba.

As the mother of a nine-year-old son, Zimmermann said she was impressed with the high priority put on the needs of children in Cuba. She described the opening of a huge new Pioneer Palace for elementary and junior high school students.

"The children have their own radio and television stations, a small car assembly operation, a fully equipped machine shop, art studios, museums, three real airplanes (one of them designed to be taken apart and put back together), a full-sized railroad train, concert rooms, three giant swimming pools, auditoriums, laboratories—and the list goes on," she said.

"Why is this possible in a poor country like Cuba and impossible in the rich United States?" Zimmermann asked. "Because the Cuban workers government has exactly the opposite approach toward young people, toward the next generation of workers.

"Just think of the wonderful schools we could build here if working people ran the government."

Hosting the rally was Sue Skinner, SWP candidate for mayor of Toledo. Skinner, an active member of United Auto Workers Local 12, is also a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"We are going to take this presidential campaign to every mine, mill, and factory we and our supporters can get to in fourteen months," Skinner told the rally.

"We are also going to the high schools, fields of migrant workers, campuses, NOW meetings, NAACP meetings, anti-nuclear activities, anybody and everybody's candidates night or talk show, and fight our way into radio and TV studios. To rallies, truck-stops, supermarkets, and unemployment lines."

A special campaign team will be traveling in the South. These four enthusiastic young campaign supporters are prepared to spend six weeks talking socialism and selling socialist literature in the coal districts of southern West Virginia and Kentucky and the textile mills of North and South Carolina.

Helping to launch the 1980 campaign were the 1976 Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice president, Pedro Camejo, who had just returned from Nicaragua, and Willie Mae Reid, now an oil refinery worker in New Jersey.

Reid announced that the Pulley-Zimmermann campaign would be seeking ballot status in at least twenty-five states. Undemocratic election laws force smaller parties to collect hundreds of thousands of petition signatures in order to gain ballot status.

This massive effort begins in October in Ohio, where campaign supporters will be collecting over ten thousand signatures.

Being on the ballot will aid Pulley and Zimmermann in getting more of the equal time on radio and television they are entitled to, and will help pressure their Democratic and Republican opponents to debate the socialists.

Along with Pulley and Zimmermann three other socialist leaders will be touring the country to rally support for their campaign.

Send-off rally for Pulley

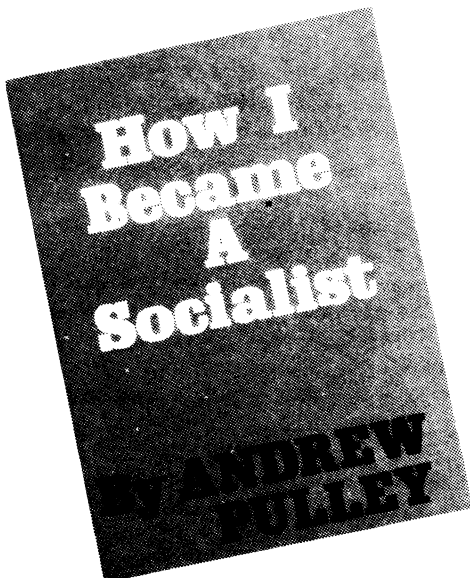
Andrew Pulley will begin his first nation-wide campaign tour for the 1980 election with a send-off rally in Gary, Indiana, August 28.

After a news conference, Pulley and supporters from U.S. Steel's huge Gary Works will distribute leaflets at plant entrances urging co-workers to attend the rally that night. Pulley is a production worker at Gary Works and has requested a fifteen-month leave of absence to campaign for the presidency.

The send-off rally will begin at 8:00 p.m. at the Gary-Sheraton Hotel in the Superior Room on the main floor.

For more information call (219) 884-9509 in Gary or (312) 939-0737 in Chicago.

Join the Socialist Workers Party campaign!



Please send me:

— copies of *How I Became a Socialist*. (pamphlet by Andrew Pulley) 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more

— copies of *Bill of Rights for Working People*. (English or Spanish) 3¢ each, 2¼¢ each for 1,000 or more

— copies of "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" (four-page flyer) 3¢ each, 2¼¢ each for 1,000 or more.

— Pulley for President buttons. (photo button) 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more

— Zimmermann for Vice Presi-

dent buttons. (photo button) 50¢ each, 35¢ each for ten or more

— "Human Needs Before Profits" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more

— "Vote Socialist Workers" buttons. 50¢ each, 25¢ each for ten or more

— Pulley for President posters. 10¢ each, 8¢ each for ten or more

— Zimmermann for Vice President posters. 10¢ each, 8¢ each for ten or more

— Volunteer cards. Free, 50¢ for 100 or more

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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

GAYS WIN IMMIGRATION RULING

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service issued a temporary directive August 14 ordering its agents to stop barring foreign visitors from the United States on the grounds that they are homosexuals.

Until the directive was issued, the INS could detain anyone it "suspected" of being gay and turn the "suspect" over to the Public Health Service for examination. If the Public Health Service ruled that the person was a homosexual, he or she could be deported.

In an August 2 memorandum, the U.S. Surgeon General, head of the Public Health Service, declared that homosexuality would "no longer be considered a 'mental disease or defect.'"

However, homosexual "suspects" will not be freely admitted, but will be given "parole" until they can be examined.

SILKWOOD AWARD UPHELD

On August 20 federal judge Frank Theis turned down a request by the Kerr-McGee Corporation to overturn a \$10.5 million award to the estate of Karen Silkwood.

Silkwood worked for Kerr-McGee, which manufactured fuel rods for nuclear reactors in its Cimarron, Oklahoma, plant. In November 1974, on her way to meet with a reporter to expose lax safety in the plant, she died in a mysterious auto crash.

In a trial earlier this year, Kerr-McGee was found guilty of negligence in contaminating Silkwood with deadly plutonium. The landmark verdict—the first involving off-site contamination—and the size of the damages awarded were a serious setback to the nuclear industry.

ECONOMY 'BATTERING' POOREST FAMILIES

The poorest 10 percent of U.S. households spend 119 percent of their income on food, housing, energy, and medical

2,000 miners strike to protest firing

By Brian Williams

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—A strike involving more than 2,000 coal miners at thirteen mines spread across the north-central West Virginia coalfields during the first week in August. The miners walked out in solidarity with David Hunt, a miner who had been fired for his efforts at union organizing.

Hunt worked at a nonunion strip mine owned by Keister Coal. Last May the United Mine Workers won a 14-11 vote for union representation, but the National Labor Relations Board has challenged three votes and has yet to settle the matter. Keister hopes to tie the case up for years in NLRB red tape.

After he was fired, Hunt and his wife and three children tried to live on twenty-eight dollars a week unemployment

compensation. "We thought it was time something had to be done," said Mrs. Hunt. On July 30, the five Hunts began picketing Keister operations.

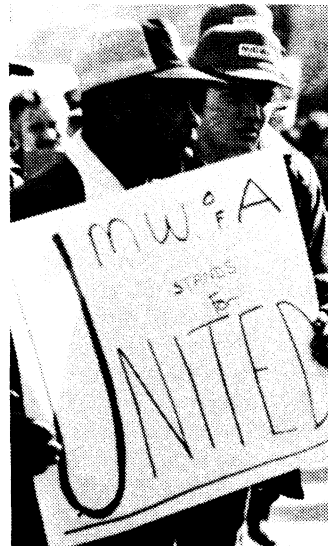
Eleven miners immediately joined them, and the next day 1,000 Barbour County miners walked out in sympathy. The strike quickly spread to two of the largest mines in the state, Consolidation Coal's Williams and Robinson Run mines.

The Keister strikers charged the company with inadequate safety measures on the job and with harassing pro-union workers.

Strikers began gradually returning to work after a week when the companies got court orders against picketers.

The strike showed that despite proclamations by West Virginia Gov. Jay Rockefeller

of a new "era of peace" in the coalfields, miners are still as willing as ever to defend their rights and stand in solidarity with other miners.



Militant/Nancy Cole

ported that 783 rail accidents forced nearly 20,000 people to flee their homes. More than 230 rail cars dumped toxic chemicals in the accidents.

The accident rate has skyrocketed even though the amount of hazardous materials shipped has remained constant, Black said.

The figures point up the railroads' primary concern: profit. Rather than spend the money needed to maintain and upgrade their roads, and prevent such accidents, the companies put the interests of their stockholders first.

EVERYTHING'S FINE

At the Public Service Electric Company's Salem One nuclear plant in New Jersey seven of the rods used to control the fission of nuclear fuel were found to be broken.

Said a company spokesperson: "There is no danger to the public."

care, according to a presidential advisory council.

That's right—119 percent. More than their income. Poor families are forced into debt simply to purchase basic necessities of life.

Inflation and unemployment are "battering" the poor, the council said.

In its annual report to the president and Congress, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity explained that the unemployed often have incomes well below the poverty line, despite unemployment insurance and other social programs that are supposed to cushion the impact of losing a job. With the economy heading into a downturn, millions of working families will join those already suffering from unemployment.

The report also cited evidence linking poverty with crime, poor health, child abuse, and high infant mortality.

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF

Dr. Ian Gale, a South Carolina psychiatrist, was arrested in July and charged with eight counts of housebreaking and grand larceny. His motive? Gale thinks the country is already in the hands of Communists and was stockpiling arms and valuables.

Cops found a stash of guns, ammunition, hand grenades, gunpowder, jewelry, and gold valued at \$500,000 in two locked rooms at Gale's house.

The local prosecutor described Gale's political views as "to the conservative side of the John Birch Society."

Gale was ordered to undergo psychiatric observation.

CLEAN WATER DEPT

Four thousand gallons of water potentially more radioactive than federal limits permit was dumped into the Susquehanna River at the crippled Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in late July by the

plant's operator, the Metropolitan Edison Company. Med Ed was supposed to test the water first, but, as a Nuclear Regulatory Commission spokesperson noted, the company "didn't do it on this batch."

Meanwhile, 1,000 gallons of highly toxic nitrobenzol spilled into the Potomac when a truck overturned near Cumberland, Maryland. The city of Hagerstown, fifty-five miles downstream, draws its drinking water from the Potomac. Authorities assured the populace that the poison would be very diluted by the time it reached them.

HAZARDOUS CARGO RAIL WRECKS SOAR

The number of rail cars releasing hazardous substances in accidents soared 33 percent in the first nine months of 1978 over the comparable period for the previous year, according to the Federal Railway Administration.

FRA official Bill Black re-

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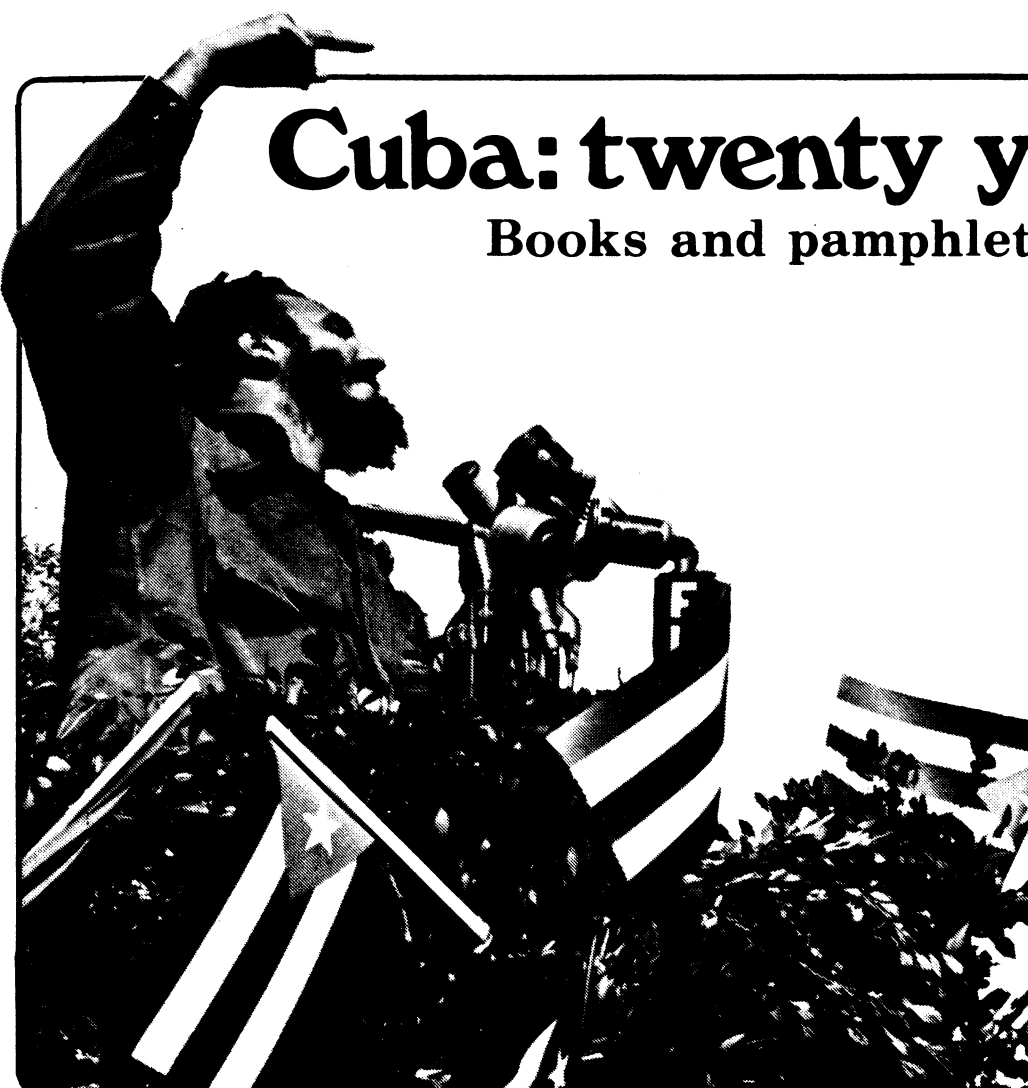
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The Theory of Permanent Revolution (on Cuba) by Joseph Hansen, 1961. Two talks, \$9.





Farmworkers win contract

The United Farm Workers union reported August 20 it had signed a tentative contract agreement with a second Salinas, California, tomato grower. According to the August 21 *New York Times*, the three-year pact will give 250 harvesters a five dollar an hour wage, up 35 percent for the first year. Piece rates would go to forty-one cents a bushel from thirty-five cents.

The first pact reportedly

also included a cost-of-living allowance, some protection against mechanization layoffs, and a union hiring hall.

The contracts came in the wake of a march of 6,000 farm workers and their supporters, demanding contracts with Salinas-area growers. Five thousand workers have been on strike against a dozen lettuce and vegetable growers since the beginning of the year.

Film protested as antigay

Several hundred people demonstrated in New York City August 20 as part of continuing protests against a film being made here. They charged *Cruising* is viciously antigay and will contribute to violence against gay people.

Ginny Vida of the National Gay Task Force said the film "represents a gross distortion of the lives of gay men by portraying them as violent and sex-obsessed."

She declared that *Cruising* would "encourage prejudice, discrimination and violence against us."

The protests started earlier this month when filming began.

Meanwhile, three hood-

lums who had gone to New York's Central Park to beat up homosexuals were convicted of assault and conspiracy. They had beaten six men with baseball bats.

All six victims were severely injured, two permanently.

The lawyer for one defendant told the court his client had drunk beer, smoked marijuana, and inhaled paint fumes before the assault, adding, "Now I wouldn't suggest for a second that beating up fags is a legitimate summer sport. . . ."

The defendants face maximum jail terms of fifteen years. They were convicted July 27 and will be sentenced September 14.

Seek pardon for Joe Hill

A campaign is underway to seek a pardon for Joe Hill, the labor organizer and songwriter framed up and executed in Utah in 1915. The nationwide effort, which has won the backing of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, is spearheaded by Leslie Orear, head of the Illinois Labor Historical Society and a former staff worker for the meatcutters union.

Orear has already collected thousands of signatures on petitions to Utah Gov. Scott Matheson. Plans are underway for a meeting in Chicago October 7, the hundredth anniversary of Hill's birth.

Hill was a Swedish immigrant and organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, a revolutionary movement for industrial unionism in the early 1900s.

His final message to his IWW comrades—"Don't waste any time mourning—organize!"—has become a watchword of the labor movement. (See "Our Revolutionary Heritage," page 22.)



JOE HILL

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Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

Not to worry—If you're on an American Airline DC-10 and it suddenly speeds up its departure, it's only because the airline is now allowing pilots to hit the accelerator when one of the engines fails on takeoff.

'Normals' only—FBI director Webster said the gumshoe outfit would continue to weed out homosexual applicants, plus those engaging in "advocacy of deviant conduct." Like listening in on people's phones, peeking at their mail and rummaging through their dresser drawers?

Probably OPEC—Major food industry representatives took offense when it was noted that in the past three months farm prices dropped 17 percent while the spread between farm and retail prices increased 29 percent. The spread on meat prices was up 109 percent.

Our bowl runneth over—Officials in Washington Park, near St. Louis, warned

those delinquent on sewer fees to pay up or have their sewers plugged.

Took the purse—Minnesota bumper sticker: "The gas war is over. They won!"

Municipal watchdog—After stalling for two years, New York City controller [treasurer] Harrison Goldin reportedly reimbursed the city \$3,655 for political and personal calls he made on his city phone.

Sounds plausible—"Gas supplies rise but prices may also increase"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Postscript—Recently we reported a federal mediator upheld a Macon poultry company on limiting the number of times workers could go to the toilet. The item said the arbitrator did up the quota from sixteen to twenty. That, it should have been reported, is per month, not per day.

Union Talk

Rail unions and nukes

This week's column is by Paul Eids-vik, a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1408 at Amtrak.

NEW YORK—Railroad workers have a special interest in the issue of nuclear power. Not only are virtually all nuclear materials and wastes shipped by rail—usually in unmarked cars—but so also is most coal. A conversion from nuclear power to coal would mean a vast expansion of rail jobs.

Rail workers who are also members of the New Jersey SEA Alliance and New York's SHAD Alliance have been bringing antinuclear speakers to a number of rail locals.

Membership meetings of BRAC (Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks) local lodges 435 and 1402, both in the New York-New Jersey area, heard speakers from the SEA and SHAD alliances in June.

The presentations concentrated on three main points: that nuclear power is inherently unsafe and can never be made safe, that viable alternatives exist—particularly coal, which exists now in sufficient quantity and can be mined safely and burned cleanly—and that labor not only has a stake in the struggle against nuclear power but that it has tremendous power that can be brought to bear in that struggle.

The union members were particularly impressed when I passed around the room several copies of the May issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, which focused on nuclear power and the mine-workers' answer to it—coal. The discussion that followed the presentations centered on the coal alternative. It was clear that most workers were already against nuclear power, but had felt that there was no alternative to it. Solar and geothermal power were too far in the future to be of much use now, they thought, and the only alternative to nuclear power was a return to the dark ages.

One woman spoke about how her family was from the Pennsylvania coal country and how that area had been economically depressed for twenty years, and how coal energy could solve that. One of the local officers spoke about how one of his close relatives had lived near Three Mile Island and had to evacuate because she had a small child.

He then gave a little speech about our

economic system in this country—how the energy trusts operate, how they even own a majority of the coal industry, how it was going to take a fight to beat them down.

Other workers asked about the costs of coal—how much would it cost compared to nuclear energy, what would the conversion be like, would there be blackouts and brownouts if we shut down all the nuclear plants tomorrow, how many new facilities would be needed in the long run, what about pollution and carbon dioxide.

One New Jersey worker pointed out how his utility bills went up every time they built a nuclear power plant and every time they shut one down he had to pay again. He would just as soon they built the coal plants so he would only have to pay once.

The secretary of Lodge 435 said, "We have a stake in stopping nuclear power to build a safe world for our future generations. Our grandparents worked to build a place for our parents, our parents worked to build a place for us, and we have to build a safe world for our children."

One person asked about the number of people who would be put out of work if the nuclear plants were shut down. Another replied that there were lots of coal miners to mine the coal, lots of railroad workers to haul it, and lots of construction workers to build the new plants that would be needed, and how we all needed the work.

A number of questions and comments focused on the antinuclear movement. One worker pointed out that it was all over the place—he had gotten leaflets in Canada. There was an exchange about the Soviet Union—didn't they have nuclear plants, was it going to do any good to shut them down here if they still had them there, why weren't we campaigning to shut them down there too. "That's not the point. It doesn't mean we shouldn't shut them down in the U.S.," was a reply.

Another worker pointed out how the antinuclear movement is international, how we wanted them shut down everywhere. One guy wanted to know what group he could become involved in and where he could read up to arm himself with the best arguments.

The discussions were friendly, frank, down-to-earth and practical. Some of the workers were so well-read on the subject that they could have been making the presentations themselves.

It was such a favorable experience that plans are already under way to appear before more rail union locals in the fall.

Songs of Joe Hill

October 7 will mark the hundredth year since the birth of Joe Hill, the famed martyr of the Industrial Workers of the World who was executed by the state of Utah on November 19, 1915. A campaign is now underway to win a pardon for Hill (see page 20).

Hill was celebrated for his songs which became the battle hymns of the IWW. Many became part of labor tradition.

We print here a September 30, 1915 farewell letter he wrote to the readers of 'Solidarity,' the paper of the IWW, as well as two of his best-known songs.

* * *

"John Law" has given me his last and final order to get off the earth and stay off. He has told me this lots of times before, but this time it seems as if he is meaning business.

I have said time and again that I am going to get a new trial or die trying. I have told it to all my friends. It has been printed in the newspapers, and I don't see why I should "eat my own crow" just because I happen to be up against a firing squad. I have stated my position plainly to everybody, and I won't budge an inch, because I am in the right.

Tomorrow I expect to take a trip to the planet Mars, and if so, will immediately commence to organize the Mars canal workers into the IWW, and we will sing the good old songs so loud that the learned star gazers on earth will once and for all get positive proofs that the planet Mars really is inhabited.

In the meantime, I hope you'll keep the ball a-rolling here. You are on the right track and are bound to get there.

I have nothing to say about myself, only that I have always tried to do what little I could to make this earth a little better for the great producing class, and I pass off into the great unknown with the pleasure of knowing that I have never in my life, double-crossed a man, woman or child.

With a last fond farewell to all true rebels and a hearty thanks for the noble support you have given me in this unequal fight, I remain,

Yours for International Solidarity,
Joe Hill

P.S. I have written down for publication, the facts of the case AS I KNOW THEM, I want you to get the truth.

Joe

The Preacher and the Slave

(To the tune of "In the Sweet Bye and Bye")

Long-haired preachers come out ev'ry night,
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right!
But when asked, how 'bout something to eat,
They will answer with voices so sweet:

CHORUS:

You will eat
Bye and bye
In the glorious land above the sky
Work and pray
Live on hay
You'll get pie in the sky when you die

And the starvation army they play,
And they sing and they clap and they pray.
Till they get all your coin on the drum,
Then they'll tell you when you're on the bum:

(Chorus)

Holy rollers and Jumpers come out,
And they holler, they jump and they shout.
"Give your money to Jesus," they say
"He will cure all diseases today."

(Chorus)

If you fight hard for children and wife—
Try to get something good in this life—
You're a sinner and bad man, they tell,
When you die you will sure go to hell,

(Chorus)

Workingmen of all countries unite,
Side by side we for freedom will fight!
When the world and its wealth we have gained,
To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:

FINAL CHORUS:

You will eat, bye and bye,
When you've learned how to cook and to fry.
Chop some wood, 'twill do you good,
and you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye.

Casey Jones—The Union Scab

(To the tune of "Casey Jones")

The workers on the S.P. Line,
To strike sent out a call;
But Casey Jones, the engineer,
He wouldn't strike at all.
His boiler it was leaking,
And its drivers on the bum,
And his engine and its bearings,
They were all out of plumb.

Casey Jones, kept his Junk-pile running,
Casey Jones, was working double time.
Casey Jones, got a wooden medal,
For being good and faithful on the S.P. Line.

The workers said to Casey:
"Won't you help us win this strike?"
But Casey said: "Let me alone,
You'd better take a hike."
Then Casey's wheezy engine
Ran right off the worn out track,
And Casey hit the river
With an awful crack.

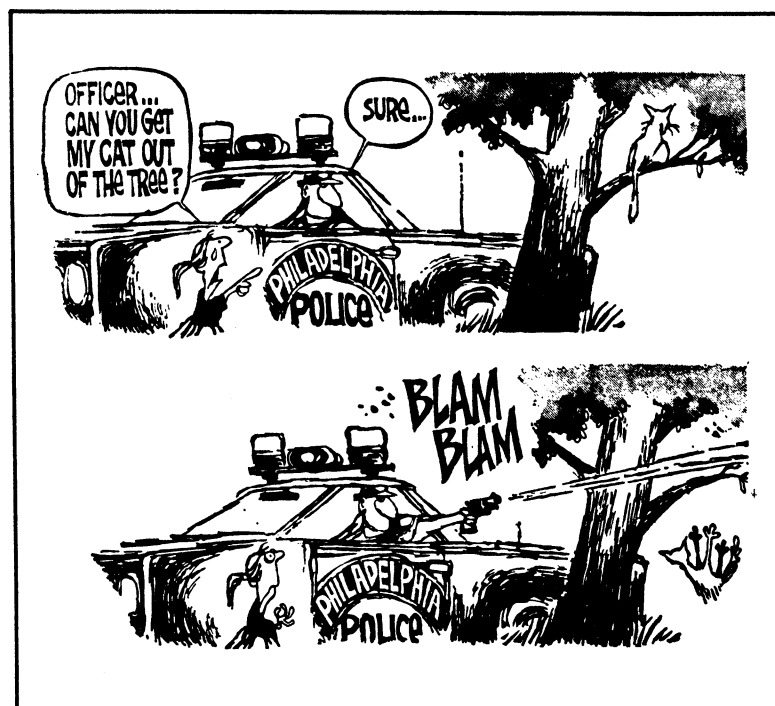
Casey Jones, hit the river bottom,
Casey Jones broke his bollomng spine,
Casey Jones became an angelano,
He took a trip to heaven on the S.P. Line.

When Casey Jones got up to heaven
To the Pearly Gate,
He said: "I'm Casey Jones,
The guy that pulled the S.P. freight."
You're just the man," said Peter,
"Our musicians are on strike;
"You can get a job a-scabbing
Anytime you like."

Casey Jones got a job in heaven;
Casey Jones was doing mighty fine;
Casey Jones went scabbin on the angels,
Just like he did to workers on the S.P. Line."

The angels got together,
And they said it wasn't fair,
For Casey Jones to go around
A-scabbing everywhere. The Angels Union
No. 23,
They sure were there,
And they promptly fired Casey
Down the Golden Stair.

Casey Jones went to Hell a-flying.
"Casey Jones," the Devil said, "Oh fine;
"Casey Jones, get busy shoveling sulphur—
"That's what you get for scabbing on
the S.P. Line."



Mike Peters/Dayton Daily News

Minn. grain strike

The giant grain elevators in the port of Duluth, Minnesota, and Superior, Wisconsin, are shut down by a strike. The 600 workers in Local 118 of the Grain Millers Union, AFL-CIO, are picketing the elevators owned by General Mills, Cargill, and other multi-million-dollar companies that monopolize trade in grain.

The companies are trying to take back premium pay for night work. They also adamantly refuse to establish a cost-of-living escalator for wages, which the strikers are demanding to protect themselves from inflation.

Minnesota Gov. Al Quie urged President Carter to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act to force the millers back to work. But so far Carter has not complied. The militant attitude of strikers we talked to indicates why.

At the big General Mills elevators, one striker told us he is a member of the Minnesota National Guard. When the governor announced he might call out the guard to break the strike, as he had done against the independent truckers, this striker went to his guard commander and informed him he had no intention of crossing his own picket line.

Politicians and the news media have tried to portray the grain elevator workers as antifarmer. But the workers we talked to were sympathetic to the hardships of the farmers.

"The farmers work hard just like we do," one said. "It is the company that's hurting the farmers, not us."

Garfield Avenue, which runs through the industrial port area of Duluth, had at least three sets of pickets in early August when we went there. The first picket line was by United Steelworkers Local 1425 against Zalk-Joseph, a manufacturing company.

The steelworkers said the company is cutting back operations in favor of cheap nonunion fabricating shops in Oklahoma. When we showed them the issue of the *Militant* with the cover about the United Auto Workers organizing victory at General Motors in Oklahoma City they were very excited.

"That's what we need. Unions have to get going in

these right-to-work states," one pointed out.

Rich Stuart
Virginia, Minnesota

Hiroshima Day

In commemoration of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima, Japan, 34 years ago, 1,500 people participated in a vigil outside the main gate of Seal Beach Naval Weapons Station, a storage site of conventional and nuclear weapons located in the densely populated suburbs of Los Angeles. The vigil was cosponsored by Seal Beach Nuclear Action Group (SNAG), the Alliance for Survival, and American Friends Service Committee. After the vigil, a rally was held across the street from the weapons station, featuring radiation expert Dr. Rosalie Bertell and other speakers.

Barry Schier
Los Angeles, California

For Nicaragua

I think the Nicaragua revolution has got to be one of the best—if not the best—events of this decade. I'm very happy for the people of Nicaragua. This is their victory. It kills me that I can't give them any money but I am unemployed. I fully support the Nicaraguan revolution and wish these heroic people the best for their revolution's future.

Patricia Hefner
Birmingham, Alabama

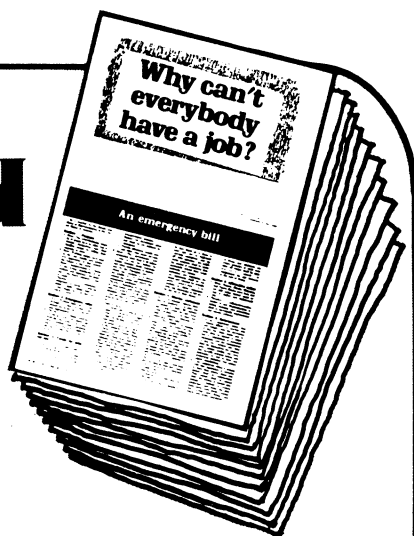
UAW history

It is often said that one picture is worth a thousand words. *Militant* readers might be interested in a photo history of the United Auto Workers: *The UAW in Pictures* by Warner W. Pflug, Wayne State University Press, 1971.

The book documents the growth of the auto industry and the rise of the UAW. It includes pictures of the auto plants prior to the invention of the moving assembly line; the early assembly lines in action; leaflets and billboards used during union organizing drives; the sit-down strikes and battles which established the union; women working during WW II when auto plants were

Help get it around

Socialist Workers Party candidates have proposed an "Emergency Bill to Provide Jobs for All." You can help distribute this bill and the accompanying article, which explains the causes and solutions to unemployment, by ordering copies (2½ cents each, 2 cents each for 1,000 or more) from the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Learning About Socialism

converted to produce tanks and planes; and strikes since WW II.

When I showed the book to co-workers at the auto plant where I work, people were very excited to see pictures which brought to life the stories they had heard about the sit-down strikes of the 1930s. After looking through that section of the book, one young worker commented, "That's what we should do this fall when the contract expires!"

Mimi Pichey
St. Paul, Minnesota

On literary freedom

The expansion of the publishing industry and the rich literary life in Cuba since the revolution which Ernest Harsch mentions [see *Militant*, August 3] stand in sharp contrast to the conditions which faced many of the now famous writers of Latin American origin who emigrated during the 1960s.

José Donoso, a Chilean novelist, wrote the following about the situation young writers faced in this period. "In each country, no one knew what was being written in other Latin American countries, especially because it was so difficult to publish a first novel or a first collection of short stories or to get them recognized. All the publishing houses were more or less poor and, in the larger countries, prejudiced in favor of foreign literature, so to overcome the closed circle of the elite in order to get any publisher to take a risk in publishing an unknown name and then, if they managed to do that, to have them print more than a couple of thousand copies destined to accumulate dust in the publisher's cellars without ever leaving the country was impossible."

One of the major Latin American novels of that period, Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Time of the Hero*, did get recognition of a sort from the government of Peru. When a paperback edition was published an official military ceremony was held at the Leoncio Prado, a military academy which Vargas Llosa had attended, where a thousand copies of the book were burned. Two Peruvian generals also ventured into literary criticism declaring the novel was the nauseating product of a sick mind.

It is also interesting to note that when *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was published in the Soviet Union, it was censored over the protest of its author to eliminate several erotic passages.

George Dolph
Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Origins of women's oppression

What is the origin of women's oppression? How did the family system arise and what role does it play in maintaining discrimination against women?

The Marxist answer to these and many other questions is contained in the newly published *Women's Liberation and Socialist Revolution*, a resolution that will be before the upcoming World Congress of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

Below we reprint the opening part of the resolution's section on the rise of the family system. The resolution is available as a book for \$1.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Send seventy-five cents for postage.

1. The oppression of women is not determined by their biology, as many contend. Its origins are economic and social in character. Throughout the evolution of pre-class and class society, women's childbearing function has always been the same. But the social status has not always been that of a degraded domestic servant, subject to man's control and command.

2. Before the development of class society, during the historical period that Marxists have traditionally referred to as primitive communism (subsistence societies), social production was organized communally and its product shared equally. There was therefore no exploitation or oppression of one group or sex by another because no material basis for such social relations existed. Both sexes participated in social production, helping to assure the sustenance and survival of all. The social status of both women and men reflected the indispensable roles that each of them played in this productive process.

3. The origin of women's oppression is intertwined with the transition from pre-class to class society. The exact process by which this complex transition took place is a continuing subject of research and discussion even among those who subscribe to a materialist historical view. However, the fundamental lines along which women's oppression emerged are clear. The change in women's status developed along with the growing productivity of human labor, craftsmanship, and commerce; the private appropriation of an increasing social surplus; and the development of the possibility for some humans to prosper from the exploitation of the labor of others.

Along with the private accumulation of wealth, the patriarchal family developed as the institution by which responsibility for the unproductive members of society—especially the young—was transferred from society as a

whole to an identifiable individual or small group of individuals. It was the primary socioeconomic institution for perpetuating from one generation to the next the class divisions of society—divisions between those who possessed property and lived off the wealth produced by the labor of others, and those who, owning no property, had to work for others to live. The destruction of the egalitarian and communal traditions and structures of primitive communism was essential for the rise of an exploiting class and its accelerated private accumulation of wealth.

As the exploitation of human beings became profitable for a privileged few, women as a sex became valuable property. Like slaves and cattle, they were a source of wealth. They alone could produce new human beings whose labor power could be exploited. Thus the purchase of women by men, along with all rights to their future offspring, arose as one of the economic and social institutions of the new order based on private property. Women's primary social role was increasingly defined as domestic servant and child-bearer.

This was the origin of the patriarchal family. In fact, the word family itself, which is still used in the Latin-based languages today, comes from the original Latin *famulus*, which means household slave, and *familia* that totality of slaves belonging to one man.

Women ceased to have an independent place in social production. Their productive role was determined by the family to which they belonged, by the man to whom they were subordinate. This economic dependence determined the second-class social status of women, on which the cohesiveness and continuity of the patriarchal family has always depended. If women could simply take their children and leave, without suffering any economic or social hardship, the patriarchal family would not have survived through the millennia.

The patriarchal family and the subjugation of women thus came into existence along with the other institutions of emerging class society in order to buttress nascent class divisions and perpetuate the private accumulation of wealth. The state, with its police and armies, laws and courts, enforced this relationship. Ruling-class ideology, including religion, arose on this basis and played a vital role in justifying the degradation of the female sex.

Women, it was said, were physically and mentally inferior to men and therefore were "naturally" or biologically the second sex. While the subjugation of distinct classes, all women regardless of class were and are oppressed as part of the female sex.

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Company violence hits miners' safety struggle

Union women target of Alabama fire bombing

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Jim Walter Resources, one of this state's largest coal operators, has unleashed a campaign of terror and harassment against United Mine Workers activists.

The attacks on union members at Jim Walter's mine Number Four in nearby Tuscaloosa County comes in the wake of UMWA charges of flagrant safety violations at the mine.

- On August 15 UMWA member Sara Jean Johnston's car, parked in Jim Walter's parking lot, was destroyed—its body bashed in, tires slashed, all windows broken, and Nazi swastikas painted on it.

- The following day the car, which remained in the parking lot, was totally demolished by fire, along with a second car belonging to UMWA member Geraldine Lattimore. No effort was made to put out the blaze.

- The next day, August 17, Johnston and Ellen Bobroff found their lockers broken into and all their clothing, money, and other personal possessions stolen.

- On Monday, August 20, Johnston and Bobroff reported to work and discovered that their mining helmets, belts, and safety equipment had been stolen. The company penalized the two by sending them home without pay for the day, claiming the items could not be replaced in time for them to work that day.

- Furthermore, the company has made veiled public threats against the unionists in statements to news media, saying they could not "guarantee their safety" away from the job. At the same time, a tenant in the apartment building where Johnston lives approached her to say that a Birmingham cop, a friend of his, had warned him to get out of the building since it "was not safe." (See box.)

Union charges

This series of incidents are the latest in a chain of events that began last month when the union filed charges against three Jim Walter officials. A union safety committee had discovered an improperly placed charge of dynamite that threatened to go off at any moment. It would have caused a massive explosion in the mine, one of the deepest and gassiest in North America.

The situation was made even more dangerous, the union said, according to a wire-service report, because, "Most of Jim Walter's employees are new and inexperienced miners."

Safety is literally a life and death question for miners. It was a major issue in the 110-day coal strike last year.

The company was stunned by the union's actions. It responded by circulating rumors threatening pay cuts and closing of the mine for six months.

Jim Walter was further incensed when the union filed and won a sex discrimination grievance against the company on behalf of all the newly employed women, who are 10 percent of the recent hires. The women had not been allowed the same right as men to work during a two-week vacation break.

The newly hired women—some with large families—were eager to work during the two weeks, but they were not offered the opportunity. Since they had been working only a brief time, they received no pay at all during the vacation period.

The grievance victory remedied this, forcing the company to pay them for the two weeks.

Jim Walter retaliated harshly. The company put six women on the track crew. Management assigns miners to this back-breaking work as a form of punishment.

The company brought in a foreman from another mine, who drove the women especially hard. Things came to a head when an older white miner on the crew collapsed, and five women miners, four Black and one white, refused the foreman's command not to go to his aid. They were immediately fired. They were charged with "threatening a supervisor" because they had insisted on calling a safety committee-man.

Word of the firing swept the mine. Already upset by the way the company was openly trying to break the women, many miners were now furious.

The union called an emergency meeting that night at the Holiday Inn. Seventy miners gathered there to show support for the women. They vowed to win a grievance to win back the jobs of the fired miners.

BIRMINGHAM



Victims of Jim Walter terror campaign hold August 17 press conference. From left, Geraldine Lattimore, Sara Jean Johnston, Ellen Bobroff.

This solidarity in response to the company offensive was a renewed source of irritation to management.

Reprimand

On the morning of August 15, company officials called miners Sara Jean Johnston and Ellen Bobroff to report to their office. The bosses reprimanded the two for writing an article in the *Militant* reporting on safety violations at the mine. They complained this was not "in the interests of Jim Walter" and "warned" them they could be fired if they "repeated" distributing the paper on company property.

The two socialists responded that they were well aware of the company's undemocratic rules and had been careful to circulate all papers after work and off company property.

The bosses proceeded to assign Johnston to the track crew as punishment.

Later that day Johnston was again summoned out of the mine and into the company office on the surface. There some six company men were gathered to inform her that her car had been destroyed. Although the car was parked in close proximity to the office—and with very few exceptions only management personnel were assigned to work in the area—they had no idea who was responsible for the vandalism.

The next morning Johnston reported to work as usual. Shortly before noon she and Geraldine Lattimore were called to report to the management office. Lattimore, a newly hired Black woman, was among those who fought and won the union's sex discrimination grievance. That morning Lattimore and Johnston had driven to work together.

Lattimore and Johnston were informed that during the morning both their cars had been set fire and totally burned. Cars parked nearby had been moved before the fire started. Although

security guards were on duty, management said, they "happened" to be away when the fires were set.

After work that day a group of more than seventy-five miners gathered outside the gate to the mine property. About twenty of them, led by one vociferous rightwinger, attempted to block two cars carrying Johnston, Lattimore, Bobroff, and a fourth woman off the premises.

Johnston got out of the car she was in and began arguing with the ringleader and a few rightwingers around him. Other miners looked on, most having stopped out of curiosity at the urging of the ringleader. Some left in disgust at the ringleader's behavior.

Johnston responded to the rightwingers' anticommunist slanders and threats, explaining they were placing the union in danger, since the cops and company—who were observing the scene—would try to use this attack on the women as proof the union rather than the company was responsible for the violence.

After leaving, Johnston, Lattimore, and Bobroff rushed to a Birmingham press conference hastily called by supporters who had been informed of the arson attack.

The news conference received wide attention. It was featured that evening on two television shows.

Johnston placed blame for the terrorist attacks squarely on Jim Walter Resources, linking it to the company response to the union's fight for safety.

"Jim Walter is out to break the mine workers union. The company is also out to drive women miners from the mines," Johnston said. "They never wanted to hire women anyway, and when the union moved aggressively on their behalf to demand equal rights, the company stepped up its offensive against the union."

"These women are coming under

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Seek City Hall protection

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama, August 22—Sara Jean Johnston, Geraldine Lattimore and Ellen Bobroff today announced they are seeking a meeting with Birmingham Mayor David Vann and Police Chief William Myer, as well as U.S. Justice Department officials, to demand protection from threats against their lives.

August 17 a tenant in Johnston's apartment building said that a friend in the police department had warned him that it was "not safe" to stay in the building. The cop said it

was under constant surveillance by both the police department and the Ku Klux Klan. The cop also alluded to the incidents at Jim Walter's mine and named Johnston and another tenant in the building as members of the Socialist Workers Party.

This incident occurred the day after Johnston's and Lattimore's cars were burned at the Walter mine. That same day the company had made veiled threats against union activists, saying it was unable to "guarantee their safety" off the job.